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Falin Details Socialist International Conference

LD0609091290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1736 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS Correspondent Vladimir Dodonov]

[Excerpts] Helsinki, 5 Sept (TASS)—Settling the Persian Gulf crisis and creating a new, comprehensive security system were the main topics at the third conference of the Socialist International on disarmament which started here today. [passage omitted]

The USSR is represented at the conference by Valentin Falin, Central Committee secretary, head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee. [passage omitted] The CPSU welcomes the positive trends in Europe and is working to strengthen and to develop these, Falin said in his speech. While the countries taking part in the CSCE have come relatively far in recognizing the unacceptability of methods of military force to resolve disputes in Europe, in other regions military force is still actively used as an instrument of policy. The most recent tragic example of this is the events in the Persian Gulf. The main task now is not to permit the escalation of bloodshed and to do everything possible to unravel the knot by political means under the aegis of the UN.

We are on the threshold of a new phase of European history, he continued. Confrontation is becoming a thing of the past and the dynamic processes of disarmament are tangibly reducing the economic and political burden the peoples of Europe have had to bear. The process of practical disarmament has only taken its first steps today. In practice it depends upon all of us, whether we will be able to halt the senseless waste of limited resources and to retarget them at the needs of socioeconomic development, Valentin Falin stressed.

Stresses Naval Disarmament

LD0609212890 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1600 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Naval disarmament was one of the main themes of the Socialist International disarmament conference, which ended in Tampere today. Valentin Falin, head of the International Affairs Department of the CPSU, proposed that this sector be included in the current disarmament talks. Falin stressed at his press conference that navies cannot be separated from other military forces and that efforts in other sectors of disarmament will be ineffective as long as the navies are excluded. He gave assurance that the Soviet Union will be ready to start talks on naval disarmament as soon as the West agrees to it.

Maritime Law Symposium Opens in Yalta

LD0409192490 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 4 Sep 90

[By TASS special correspondent Anatoliy Aladinskiy]

[Text] Yalta September 4 TASS—Legal aspects of conserving and saving the marine environment are to be discussed at a four-day international symposium that opened in Yalta, the Crimea, today.

The symposium, organized within the framework of world [word indistinct] day, is attended by jurists, diplomats, representatives of shipping lines and fisheries from the Soviet Union, Britain, the United States, Canada, France, Bulgaria, Poland, Nigeria and other countries.

U.N. Under-Secretary-General Satya N. Nadan sent greetings to the symposium, which he described as very well-timed.

Meetings of specialists in maritime law from different countries have already become well-established. They are organised on the initiative of the Soviet Marine Law Association with the assistance of the Soviet [word indistinct] the international Maritime Committee, the London University Centre of Studies of the Legal Systems of Socialist Countries and the British and the U.S. Maritime Law Associations.

President of the Soviet Association of Maritime Law Professor Anatoliy Kolodkin, who is also deputy director of the Sea Transportation Research Institute, told TASS that one of the ways to combat the world ecological crisis is "by establishing a firm legal order in this field of human activity."

Speaking about peculiarities of this symposium, Kolodkin said that while past conferences considered general aspects of maritime law—the previous two were held under the slogan "Peace at Sea"—this time participants will focus on problems of marine conservation.

Yalta was selected as the venue because the state of the sea near this resort centre has long been a cause of anxiety.

The gathering will consider matters relating to compensation for oil pollution of the seas and the activity of the international oil pollution compensation fund. Participants in the symposium, Kolodkin said, "plan to work out a united stance on a number of draft international agreements".

TASS Reports Gerasimov's 6 September Briefing

Describes Consultations With 'Aziz

LD0609153690 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Leonid Timofeyev and Yuriy Rublevskiy]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Consultations in Moscow between the Soviet leadership and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz should not be described as a step backwards in the attempts to resolve the Persian Gulf crisis, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

Contacts and exchanges of views, he said, are useful in critical situations. The Soviet Union may possibly play a constructive role in the solution of the issue on the strength of its continuous contacts with all sides, including Baghdad. Asked to comment on the statement by 'Aziz at a news conference earlier in the day, referring to the Soviet Union as Iraq's friend, Gerasimov noted that in keeping with the 1972 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Iraq, more than 6,000 Soviet specialists in various fields are now working in that country.

Good friendly relations exist between the two countries, the Soviet spokesman said. But "the truth is uppermost", he said, and the Soviet Union has joined the world community in condemning Iraq's aggression in Kuwait and wants to find ways to settle this situation as soon as possible.

On Saddam Husayn's proposal of August 12 to solve the Gulf crisis in conjunction with other Middle East issues, including Palestinian, Gerasimov pointed out that there was an element of the truth in the fact that the U.N. Security Council was bound to implement all its resolutions, including on Israeli occupied Arab territories. But Gerasimov said he was not sure that these two situations should be linked. The annexation of Kuwait is now on the agenda, and to link the matter with Israeli aggression against occupied territories means putting off the solution of the conflict in question indefinitely, Gerasimov said.

This does not mean, he stated, that the Soviet Union is going back on its own principled condemnation of Israeli occupation of foreign land.

Asked about the possibility of a joint statement by the Soviet and American presidents on Iraq's aggression during their forthcoming meeting in Helsinki, Gerasimov noted that he thought an ultimatum was highly implausible, because the sides have to act "both bilaterally and in conjunction with the world community, which is being done within the U.N. framework".

Gerasimov stressed that "the presence of Soviet specialists, including a group of military specialists, can by no means be interpreted" as a "double game". Soviet specialists are in Iraq under contract and will leave the country when the contract term expires. He admitted that the Soviet Union finds itself in a sensitive situation because weapons, sold to Iraq for defensive purposes, have been used for purposes that are not defensive, giving rise to a moral dilemma.

Gerasimov recalled that the Soviet Union favoured a political settlement of the Gulf crisis and will continue making efforts in that direction.

Praises UN Environmental Talks

LD0609162190 Moscow TASS in English 1608 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Yuriy Rublevskiy and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov today expressed satisfaction with the results of the first session of the preparatory committee for a United Nations conference on the environment and development. The session ended in Nairobi on August 31.

He said the Soviet Union believes that the conference should mark a turning point in international efforts to prevent the global destruction of the environment, by working out principles for the stable and ecologically safe development of civilization in the 21st century.

Gerasimov supported the committee's recommendation that the United Nations General Assembly decide at its 45th session whether the conference should be held at the level of heads of state or heads of government.

He said the conference could adopt a number of fundamental documents such as a global strategy for international cooperation in nature conservation and the basic principles of ecological ethics.

Gerasimov also supported the results of an international conference on the ecological revival of the Baltic Sea, held in Sweden from September 2-3 on the initiative of that country and Poland.

Both forums, he said, have demonstrated increasing international awareness of the urgent need to tackle global ecological problems.

Asian-Pacific Forum Continues in Vladivostok

PM0609141590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Captain 1st Rank V. Shirokov report: "The Debates Continue"]

[Text] The international meeting "Asian-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation" continues its work in Vladivostok. Sittings of three sections were held to examine problems of the military-political situation and the processes of trade, economic, humanitarian, and cultural cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region.

The meeting is actively discussing the report by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze. There was, for example, broad support for the proposal to hold a meeting of foreign ministers from countries in the Asian-Pacific region in Vladivostok in 1993. It was noted that, in this context, the Maritime Kray's capital is acquiring international importance and could become the center of political, economic, and cultural cooperation in the region.

But arguments from the arsenal of years past, about the Soviet military threat which allegedly still exists, did make their way in speeches by some political scientists. Rear Admiral V. Kasatkin, representative of the USSR Ministry of Defense, explained that the Soviet Union intends to reduce its troops by 200,000 men, including 120,000 in the Far East. By year's end there will be 12 fewer divisions, 11 fewer aviation regiments, and 16 fewer fleet warships here. At the same time, U.S. forces in Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines are being cut by only 15,000 men. It is obvious that such steps cannot be considered a suitable response to the USSR's actions.

Conference Ends 6 Sep

LD0609101490 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS Special Correspondents Alla Prozorova, Igor Peskov, Mikhail Ivanov and Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Vladivostok, Soviet Far East, September 6 TASS—An international conference "On the Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace and Cooperation", which opened in Vladivostok on Tuesday, concluded its work today.

The conference, the second of its kind, was attended by delegates from more than 30 countries. They discussed problems of the region and prospects for its development.

The conference was addressed by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who spoke about pressing problems of world politics and Soviet Asia-Pacific policies.

He proposed declaring a "decade of rapprochement" between Europe and Asia and holding an open meeting of all Asian foreign ministers in Vladivostok in 1993 to discuss the region's problems.

The conference discussed the situation on the Korean Peninsula, Soviet-Japanese relations in the context of the "northern territories" issue, and confidence-building measures in the region.

Some delegates proposed setting up a standing working body to tackle Asia-Pacific problems.

Other items on the conference agenda include legal aspects of economic relations between countries of the region, the creation of new infrastructures and free economic zones, and humanitarian issues.

Delegates stressed the need for exchanges of information, ideas and people. A South Korean delegate proposed setting up a [words indistinct] to be made up of countries' national currencies.

The conference also discussed environmental issues. Soviet delegates proposed establishing a "shield of the earth" environmental fund.

Gorbachev Message to UN Development Conference

Links Development to Disarmament

PM0609144790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[M. Gorbachev message to UN conference on Least Developed Countries; venue of conference, date of message not stated]

[Text] To the Second UN Conference on the Least Developed Countries.

Greetings to the participants in the conference. It is concerned with one of the fundamental problems of the world community's present and future.

Without overcoming underdevelopment and the gap between North and South we cannot expect to establish a modern, civilized world order. This task is associated with other global tasks—disarmament, the elimination of debt, and the protection of the environment.

The Soviet Union advocates increased efforts to stabilize the world economy on the basis of constructive collaboration involving East, West, and South, via the creation of equal development conditions for all and taking into account the least developed countries' special needs.

Perestroyka in the Soviet Union and its integration in the world economy create new conditions and new opportunities for the USSR to cooperate with these countries as well as to increase the practical results of this cooperation.

In this connection, we pin great hopes on the results of the disarmament and conversion process that has now begun and on its spread to other countries in addition to those of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Unfortunately, actions like those that caused the very dangerous crisis in the Persian Gulf also seriously undermine efforts to normalize world economic relations and to give support to the countries with whose fate your conference is preoccupied.

I wish the conference success in its search for ways to make the economy healthy and improve the plight of millions of poor people.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev.

Official Highlights Links

LD0709084590 Moscow TASS in English 0823 GMT 7 Sep 90

[By TASS Correspondent Igor Kuleshov]

[Text] Paris September 7 TASS—"The Soviet Union regards its relations with the least developed countries in the general context of perestroika in our country," head of the Soviet delegation A.I. Kachanov said here at the second U.N. international conference on the least developed countries.

Kachanov, Soviet deputy minister for foreign economic relations, noted that perestroika in the Soviet Union and its integration in the world economy would create new conditions and new possibilities for cooperation with this group of countries to raise its practical results.

The USSR extended over 20 billion U.S. dollars to the least developed countries in aid between 1981-1989. Its level amounted, on average, to 0.18 per cent of the annual Soviet GNP [Gross National Product], higher than the 0.15 per cent recommended to donor countries by the United Nations.

The Soviet Union is a major trade and economic partner of the least developed countries. Soviet trade turnover with this group of countries rose by 40 per cent in 1989 as against 1980 in current prices, totalling over 1.3 billion roubles.

In the past few years the Soviet Union carried out some measures to ease the debt burden of the least developed nations. The volume of cuts in payments provided for by original terms totalled over six billion U.S. dollars between 1986 and 1990.

Kachanov stressed that the Soviet Union will cooperate with the least developed countries in future on principles of mutual advantage and mutual interests, taking into account the USSR's economic possibilities.

He added that this cooperation would be based on international standards and practices.

The Soviet Union is ready to participate in operating multilateral mechanisms for coordinating aid and settling debt problems. For this purpose, the Soviet Union plans to expand cooperation with the United Nations Development Programme and other U.N. agencies. The USSR is now beginning its participation in the U.N. Volunteers Programme.

The Soviet Union is promoting the greater access of goods from the least developed countries to the world market. "We attach much importance to the stabilisation of world prime commodities markets," Kachanov stressed.

The Soviet Union is also seeking to establish new forms of cooperation with the least developed countries, including scientific and industrial cooperation, various forms of currency-free trade and joint enterprise.

The Soviet Union is interested in supplementing bilateral cooperation with those countries with multilateral ties.

Spreading disarmament in the world and the conversion of munitions industries open new opportunities for

international economic cooperation and comprehensive assistance to the least developed nations.

The Soviet Union is ready to participate in international efforts to improve the ecological situation in the least developed nations, in particular to pay greater attention to ecological aspects while giving them technical aid.

Sweeping changes for the better in international affairs, which are characteristic by deideologisation and demilitarisation of inter-state relations, create new possibilities for stepping up multilateral cooperation to tackle global problems.

"A place of prominance is occupied by problems of development, the solution of which needs coordinated cooperation of the entire international community," Kachanov concluded.

Fyodorov Notes 'Fear' at Pace of German Unification

AU0409104590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1-2 Sep 90 p 3

[Interview with Rafael Petrovich Fyodorov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, by Detlef-Diethard Pries; place and date not given: "Current Course of Unification Is Raising Fears"]

[Text] [Pries] Rafael Petrovich, only recently it was stated that no Soviet Government would be able to justify, vis-a-vis the Supreme Soviet and the people, agreeing to a united Germany's membership in NATO. Has this changed after the meeting in the Caucasus?

[Fyodorov] There are arguments for our change. First, we were left alone in our efforts to oppose such NATO membership. Even our allies in the Warsaw Pact have not held back with their differing opinions. Although—deep down—the Western powers were against fast unification, they pursued a policy that left us alone in our struggle; of course they have had very specific objectives.

The second argument, which was also mentioned by Comrade Gorbachev, is the following: NATO has shown its readiness to somewhat modify the alliance and its policy. The third is the resulting limitation of the armed forces of the united Germany.

So, accounting also for our difficult economic situation, these arguments may be valid. Nevertheless, certainly not everybody here considers this to be an urgent necessity. I continue to hold the view that the fast merger of the two German states, which is practically an annexation of the GDR by the FRG, is creating a situation that causes uncertainty. I would have preferred a longer period of growing together, so that the people could have adapted to it. The current course of events is raising fear.

[Pries] What fears, for example?

[Fyodorov] I am far from predicting a third world war. Times have changed, and there will probably never be wars in Europe on a large scale. However, the firepower of the economy is now bigger than that of any cannon or missile. How the united Germany will act in this respect is a major question for me.

[Pries] Yet, for the time being the external aspects of German unity seem to be settled for the USSR. It only requires the signatures at the last round of the two-plus-four talks, does it not?

[Fyodorov] Well, things are not quite as simple as that. As I understand it, only the fundamental questions were dealt with at the meeting in the Caucasus. There are many very important problems still to be settled, such as the stationing of Soviet troops. In principal, this issue seems to have been solved, yet the many questions of daily life....

[Pries] Recently rumors have been spread here according to which the USSR is interested in a faster withdrawal than was agreed in the Caucasus.

[Fyodorov] I think this is a canard.

[Pries] What is the settlement as far as economic relations are concerned?

[Fyodorov] Can they be settled at all? The only point that was discussed in the Caucasus is the credit. Everything else is still up in the air. This sphere will show what our relationship will be like in the future, to what degree our relations can be as useful as some people hope they will be, and how these relations should actually be in the interest of both sides. The fast change also affects the sphere of the economy. Our side very often lacks the necessary competence, and our people are cheated again and again, whereas the other side is already represented by "tough" guys.

[Pries] As a representative of the CPSU, what is your stance with regard to the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS]?

[Fyodorov] We are solidly behind the PDS, and we are ready for any kind of cooperation. We accept its policies and support them—under the principle of non-interference.

United States & Canada

Reports, Comments on Upcoming Helsinki Summit

Bush's Expectations Noted

LD0709101790 Moscow TASS in English 1009 GMT 7 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Igor Borisenko and Nikolay Pakhomov]

[Text] Washington September 7 TASS—The superpower summit in Helsinki "can further expand cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union", President George Bush said on Thursday in Topeka, Kansas.

Bush said he and Gorbachev would speak of the Gulf crisis and other regional issues.

"When President Gorbachev and I met last June, I mentioned the hope that we could meet more frequently: The better we understand each other, the closer—I believe—we can work together," he said.

"The past year has seen new levels of cooperation between our two nations. The Persian Gulf shows what this cooperation can achieve.

"I hope to also discuss the progress of Soviet reform. And I will continue to press for a prompt resolution of a Start treaty," Bush said.

Finnish Foreign Ministry Comments

LD0609194290 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] The Soviet and American Presidents, Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush, will arrive in Helsinki on Saturday, 8 September, one day before their talks in the Finnish capital.

This statement was made by the Finnish Foreign Ministry.

On the same day, Gorbachev and Bush will have separate meetings with President Mauno Koivisto of Finland.

The Soviet-American talks will begin on Sunday at 1000 in the morning Moscow time at the Presidential Palace.

The Finnish Foreign Ministry says they will last for no less than five hours. Finnish radio has said that Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush will hold a joint news conference on the results of the talks on Sunday night.

Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush will be discussing international problems including the Gulf crisis, arms control, and bilateral relations.

Urgency of Gulf Crisis Noted

LD0609152690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Interview with TASS observer Yuriy Kornilov by Nikolay Agayants; on the "Point of View" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Agayants] Hello comrades. In a few days, on Sunday, 9 September, a meeting will be held in Helsinki between the presidents of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. [passage omitted] Here in the studio is the well-known Soviet publicist and TASS political observer, Yuriy Imanuilovich Kornilov. I will ask him to speak in more details about this. [passage omitted]

Are you convinced that our country is doing everything possible, together with the other members of the international community, to eliminate the consequences of the Iraqi aggression and to prevent an acceleration of the conflict?

[Kornilov] Well, Nikolay Ivanovich, I would reply to that question this way: We have done the main thing. We have stated that as a result of the annexation of Kuwait, the fundamental principles of international law have been violated, the sovereignty of an independent state has been flouted, and together with the United States and other members of the UN Security Council, we voted for the aggressor to be repulsed and for sanctions against the latter. The unity of the countries of the East and the West, and of the overwhelming majority of UN members is, essentially, unprecedented, and it is hard to overestimate its significance. Our country is firmly, consistently, and, I would say, scrupulously carrying out the Security Council resolutions. [passage omitted]

It sounds eloquent, but surely it is obvious that all these statements and assurances have already been made empty words by Baghdad's aggression. Surely, it is clear that in annexing Kuwait the Iraqi leadership has distinctly demonstrated its unwillingness to consider precisely the UN Charter, respect for which it so vigorously declared. And, if this is the case, then I begin to ask myself, for example, why preserve a treaty which is ignored and even blatantly violated by the other country. [passage omitted]

Baghdad, as has now become evident, has used arms received from us, and not only from us, not for defense but for overtly aggressive aims. Surely this is a weighty argument in favor of reviewing the treaty. This program is called "Point of View," is it not? Well, my view is that such a step as denunciation of the treaty or, at least, its suspension, would be opportune, and would be understood and appraised on merit by the international community . [passage omitted]

[Agayants] Yuriy Imanuilovich, in the international media lately, particularly the American media, especially before the Gorbachev-Bush meeting in Helsinki, the question is being increasingly asked as to whether there

is disagreement over the USSR's and United States' approach to the Kuwait conflict.

[Kornilov] Personally, I think that if one is speaking of the official and, all in all, the fundamental stance of Moscow and Washington, there are no grounds for such a question. This stance has been sufficiently, fully, and precisely formulated in the appropriate resolutions of the UN Security Council, and both our country and the U.S. voted for their adoption. [passage omitted]

Our country proceeds from the premise that the actions of the U.S. Government in the specific situation that has developed, bearing in mind the corresponding request by Saudi Arabia, meet the norms of the UN Charter. I do not think it would be wrong to say that Washington's determination helped to prevent an Iraqi attack on Saudi Arabia, and, consequently, also helped to prevent a widening of the zone of armed conflict. But, while stating this, we cannot fail to mention something else. A rapid rise in the level of military preparedness in any region of the world, and increasing military confrontation, are always objectively fraught with unpredictable consequences. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, I would like to say the following: If two statesmen of such scope as Gorbachev and Bush have considered it necessary to set aside vital and most urgent matters, and to meet urgently in Helsinki, this once against confirms that the conflict in the Persian Gulf has become so dangerous that special, exceptional, responsibility, restraint, consideration, and coordination of actions are needed to prevent a fire, the flames of which, having flared up in the oil deposits of Kuwait and Iraq, could engulf the whole region and the building of a new sensible world order that has just begun. When Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush meet in Helsinki, their main aim will be clear: to show the world that they are united in their strategy toward Iraq, writes the 4 September British FINANCIAL TIMES. The international community hopes and believes that the meeting in Helsinki, a city which symbolises the path towards peace and security in Europe, will be an important landmark on the way to a just and stable peace in the Middle East as well.

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze's Visit to Japan Continues

Interviewed on Talks

LD0609155890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 6 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In an interview for Soviet television and radio, Eduard Amrosyevich Shevardnadze named some of the results of his talks in Japan.

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] First, there was preparation for the visit: I have in mind certain drafts for the agenda of the future talks and the documents which can be signed during Mikhail Sergeyevich's visit. It looks like quite an impressive package of agreements. A major document concerning our relations with Japan at the current stage and in the future can be prepared and signed. We dicussed in a very sound and concrete manner the problems of strategic stability and security in the Asian-Pacific region. We formulated certain principles, especially regarding confidence measures in the military area, taking into account our experience, so to speak, accumulated in Europe and other parts of the world, and taking into account our dialogue and our talks with the United States. It seems to me that the Japanese side takes a positive view of our proposals.

On the whole, the general atmosphere, despite the fact that there are complex issues, is for a peaceful treaty, taking into account the well-known so-called territorial issue. Well, in principle, I felt that the Japanese side is inclined to take the following stance: to refrain from dramatizing difficulties, and to develop relations in all areas. We are in favor of this, too. [end recording]

Meets With Japanese Politician

LD0609165690 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Tokyo September 6 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today met prominent Japanese politician Michio Watanabe, a member of parliament from the ruling Liberal Democratic Party.

They discussed pressing international issues, primarily a Cambodian settlement and the Gulf crisis, and Soviet-Japanese relations.

Watanabe stressed the significance attached here to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan next April, which, the Japanese politician said, will mark a turning point in relations between the two countries.

Sees Japanese Emperor Akihito

LD0709063290 Moscow TASS in English 0510 GMT 7 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kopnov, Vladimir Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Tokyo September 7 TASS—Japan's Emperor Akihito today received Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, on an official visit here.

Shevardnadze conveyed Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's good wishes to the emperor.

The minister expressed hope that the emperor would come to the Soviet Union, where he would be extended a "cordial welcome".

Holds News Conference 7 Sep

OW0709110490 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese at 0145 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Statement by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at a 7 September news conference at the Japan National Press Club—live; Shevardnadze speaks in Russian with passage-by-passage translation into Japanese; the following is from the Japanese translation]

[Text] To be sure, this is my third news conference at the Japan National Press Club. This will not be my last news conference, and I believe I will have further opportunities to speak here in the future. I am very pleased to again see familiar faces here in this press conference room. Journalists and reporters, we have met on many occasions either in Tokyo or Moscow. I am very pleased to have a chance to remember your faces.

I met with His Majesty the Emperor just a while ago. It was a great honor for me, and I appreciate his giving so much consideration to me as head of the Soviet delegation. I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to Prime Minister Kaifu for sparing much time for me and for making substantive remarks.

Important topics in the talks between Foreign Minister Nakayama and me were problems concerning the conclusion of a peace treaty and preparations for a visit to Japan by President Gorbachev. In the course of exchanging views, we, including other members of the Soviet delegation and our Japanese counterparts, confirmed that the two sides have paid great attention to the present state of Soviet-Japanese relations and sought news ways acceptable to both sides, particularly ways to resolve the most difficult problems concerning the conclusion of a peace treaty.

In addition, Foreign Minister Nakayama and I settled some problems concerning preparations for the Soviet-Japanese summit. We also reached an agreement on the documents to be signed by the two nations when Gorbachev visits Japan. In other words, we reached an agreement on the signing of important documents which will set the future direction of relations between the two countries. At present, I can definitely say that concrete programs for his visit to Japan have been completed. Since we do not have much time left, I think it is necessary for us to act in a precise and organized way as much as possible.

I think that when Gorbachev—excuse me—when Foreign Minister Nakayama visits the Soviet Union, programs for Gorbachev's visit to Japan will take more concrete form. I invited Foreign Minister Nakayama to visit the Soviet Union later this year or early next year.

In Tokyo, Foreign Minister Nakayama and I agreed to establish several working groups with the aim of creating mechanisms to resolve specific issues. These working groups include foreign ministerial talks and various expert-level talks. I would like to appraise highly the results of working groups between the two countries which have hitherto worked to adjust views of the two countries. Mr. Rogachev, sitting beside me, represents the working groups.

We also discussed regional conflicts—particularly the Persian Gulf crisis—in depth. We issued a joint statement. I think this was an extremely meaningful act. This was the first time Japan and the Soviet Union issued such a statement. I think the joint statement reflects the positive trend of the world.

We also discussed the Afghanistan issue, the Cambodian problem, as well as measures to ensure security in the Asia-Pacific region. We talked considerably about normalizing the Cambodian situation. As you know, a meeting was held here in Tokyo among major parties concerned with the Cambodian issue.

By utilizing all possible means, I think we must make contributions aimed at bringing about an amicable settlement to the Cambodian issue. In this connection, I would like to note that the United States has been gradually changing its position on the Cambodian issue. Foreign Minister Nakayama said last night that he would do his best for further promotion of dialogue between Mr. Hun Sen and other parties concerned with the Cambodian issue. The Soviet Government will also exert all possible efforts for coordination of dialogue between Messrs. Sihanouk and Hun Sen. This is because Prince Sihanouk wields considerable power over the Cambodian issue.

There were detailed discussions on peace in the Asia-Pacific region this time; they were generally positive. Frankly speaking, however, I have something particular to say. Some people in Japan tend to become wary when the Soviet Union speaks about detente in the Asia-Pacific region. I think this trend also applies to journalists of some countries. In other words, they suspect that there are hidden meanings to each word and phrase of a Soviet statement, or they suspect that the Soviet Union is seeking its own interests which are disadvantageous to Japan. It is hard for us to understand why they act like this.

For example, we made a proposal in Vladivostok that foreign ministers of this region get together in Vladivostok to have free discussions. However, some countries—though not all—remain wary about this proposal. Now, I would like to ask all of you—journalists—I would like you not to be too wary about this proposal which means some sacrifices on our part. Please do not ask about a second reason for the Soviet approach. Naturally, the Soviet Union seeks certain interests for itself, but the purpose of this proposal is not only aimed at seeking Soviet self-interests. It really also seeks to lower the level of military activities in the Pacific and the Indian Oceans.

To do this, of course, the Soviet Union must cooperate with various nations of the region, and Japan is among them. We are hoping to take various actions for easing tensions and building confidence in relations with Japan.

We then want to apply this experience to other areas of the region. The Soviet Union this time proposed an eight-point measure to improve relations between the two countries. This measure in fact is similar to those being implemented by the Soviet Union in its relations with the United States, Europe, and other countries. I think this can also be applied to the relations between the two countries. I spoke about it in a lecture yesterday.

Now, the Korean peninsula question: I was in Pyongyang four days ago for talks with North Korean leaders and conveyed results of the talks and North Korea's position to the Japanese side. The situation on the Korean peninsula and the DPRK's efforts and position on solving the status of conflict were conveyed to Japan. Efforts being made toward national unification and dialogue with South Korea have also been explained. The Soviet Union and Japan agreed to welcome the first meeting of top-level government representatives between South and North Korea. A second meeting is now scheduled for Pyongyang. We are hoping that there will be some tangible results at that meeting.

I will now come to the next problem. This concerns the existence of U.S. nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula and the matter of nuclear existence in Korea and verification by the International Atomic Energy Agency, IAEA. We hope that the issue of control and inspection of nuclear existence by the IAEA will be realized as soon as possible. I think this is a very important matter.

East-West issues in general—including Soviet-U.S. relations—were also taken up during my visit. We also talked about developments in Europe. We talked about the reunification of Germany, a new relationship between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and a new security arrangement for all of Europe. The Japanese side appreciated the Soviet Union's stand.

We had talks on Soviet-Japanese relations in a constructive atmosphere. The Japanese side requested Soviet cooperation in its efforts to locate burial grounds of Japanese prisoners of war on Soviet territory. Japan also asked the Soviet Union to reveal the number and list of people buried. These requests were documented in the form of a memorandum for mutual understanding toward the Soviet president's visit to Japan. It will be announced shortly.

In addition, three documents were exchanged this time. One was a note on mutual cooperation regarding the opening up of information, the second was a joint statement on cooperation regarding overcoming the effects of the Chernobyl incident, and the third was a joint statement on an international nuclear fusion test plant. I will not comment on their contents. Please read them for yourself later.

It would not be right if I did not mention the people I had talks with during my visit to Japan this time. I met with Mr. Abe, the well-known politician of the Liberal Democratic Party; Mr. Ozawa, the general secretary of the party; Mr. Watanabe, the influential Diet member; Ms. Doi, chairwoman of the Japan Socialist Party—actually I will see her after this news conference; and I had an interesting talk with Mr. Nakasone, the former prime minister.

Through these series of talks, it has been possible for us to learn more about Japanese political thinking in general. The talks have been very useful. However, I regret that being so busy, I was not able to learn more about Tokyo and its people. But I sincerely thank Foreign Minister Nakayama, top officials of Tokyo, and the other people who have been so thoughtful in welcoming us and making our stay here pleasant. Thank you very much, and thank you for the gift of memorandum books.

I also wish to thank you journalists for reporting objectively on our visit to Japan.

Notes Gorbachev's Planned Visit

LD0609170890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze is continuing his visit to Japan. Here's our special correspondent Viktor Levin from Tokyo:

[Levin] Following his conversation with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu today, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze met with the group of Soviet journalists accompanying him on his trip. The Soviet foreign minister told us that during his talks here in Tokyo, three main groups of problems had been discussed.

First, the preparations for the visit by Soviet President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to Japan. Later in the discussion, Eduard Amvrosiyevich mentioned that a date has been set, in principle, for that visit—mid-April of next year. [passage omitted] The second group concerns the fact that for the first time in our practice there has been a thorough and detailed discussion of the problems of strategic security in the Asian-Pacific region as a whole, and of the tasks of the Soviet Union and Japan in overcoming the military confrontation. [passage omitted] And the third group concerned our multifaceted bilateral relations—economic, trade, scientific and technical. Replying to a question from your correspondents, the Soviet foreign minister said, in part:

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] Overall, I think the visit is necessary, especially given the preparation for this very major undertaking, and I say this without exaggeration—a very major undertaking in Soviet-Japanese relations. The visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will be made up of those issues and problems on which we have a good mutual understanding, though (?on these issues too), some time is still needed to arrive at practical decisions. [end recording]

Sees Talks as 'Positive'

LD0609192890 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kopnov, Vladimir Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Tokyo September 6 TASS—"It was a necessary visit, the results of which can be assessed as positive and constructive," said Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. He was asked by Soviet journalists to evaluate the results of the talks in Tokyo.

"If one is to speak about issues discussed, I would name as the key ones primarily those pertaining to preparations for a Soviet-Japanese summit," Shevardnadze said.

"They included, in part, tentatively harmonising the agenda of the Soviet president's visit to Japan and defining a range of documents for signature.

"I would like to emphasise that the Soviet side reacted positively to this proposal.

"The second central subject of the talks in Tokyo was strategic stability and security in the Asia-Pacific region and the two countries' positions on this issue. Our approaches to the problem of military confrontation in the region were analysed in detail."

Shevardnadze formulated some principles of the general policy in the Asia-Pacific region, mindful of the development of relations with European states and the dialogue with the United States.

"I got the impression that the Japanese delegation received positively our proposals for confidence-building measures in the military field," Shevardnadze said.

"The third group group of issues concerned comprehensive bilateral relations." Shevardnadze said that in contrast to his previous visits and meetings with Japanese representatives, he formed the opinion that Japan today showed a by far greater interest in the development of Soviet-Japanese ties than earlier.

Shevardnadze emphasised that the Japanese side received exceptionally positively the restructuring processes and sweeping reforms that are being implemented in the Soviet Union.

"In general, the atmosphere of the talks was amiable and frank, although many difficult issues in our relations were also discussed. There are such issues. Suffice it to name the problem of signing a peace treaty, mindful of the well-known 'territorial linkage.' I cannot say that some meaningful progress was achieved on this question.

"I can say that people in Japan are looking forward with impatience to Gorbachev's visit. They link with his visit some hopes for an improvement of our relations.

"I would like to point out that the conclusion of a peace treaty is not limited only to the territorial aspect. It is a whole range of issues. We do not have differences on other components."

Shevardnadze emphasised that one of the Soviet proposals for developing bilateral ties was to announce the remaining ten years of this century a decade of building new Soviet-Japanese relations.

"We signed and adopted a whole set of joint documents in Tokyo, including a memorandum on cooperation between the USSR and Japan in cleaning up the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident, a memorandum on issues pertaining to preparations for the Soviet president's visit to Japan and a statement on the situation in the Persian Gulf.

"New contacts on a high level are ahead. Soviet Parliament Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov will arrive in Japan to attend the ceremony of the official enthronement of Emperor Akihito. Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union later this year. A Soviet-Japanese summit will take place next April.

"I got the impression from my stay in Japan and meetings at different levels that the Japanese side is willing to develop versatile contacts with the Soviet Union," Shevardnadze said.

Ends Three-Day Visit

LD0709064290 Moscow TASS in English 0632 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Text] Tokyo September 7 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze left Japan for home today after ending his three-day official visit.

At Tokyo's Haneda Airport, he was seen off by Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama.

During his stay in the Japanese capital, Shevardnadze was received by Emperor Akihito and Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and held three rounds of talks with Nakayama.

The Soviet minister also met a number of Japanese political leaders.

Joint Statement Published

LD0709060890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0425 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Text] Tokyo, 7 Sep (TASS)—We are transmitting the full text of the joint Soviet-Japanese statement for the press.

At the invitation of the Japanese Government, E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, was in Japan from 4-7 September 1990 on an official visit.

During his stay in Tokyo, E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, had an audience with the Japanese emperor.

E.A. Shevardnadze was received by Toshiki Kaifu, Japanese prime minister. E.A. Shevardnadze passed on to T. Kaifu a verbal message from M.S. Gorbachev, USSR president, in which he confirmed his intention of officially visiting Japan in or around April of 1991. A specific time for the visit will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, and T. Nakayama, Japanese foreign minister, conducted talks concerning the official visit of M.S. Gorbachev, USSR president, to Japan. The ministers confirmed the great significance of a dialogue at summit level for the development of bilateral relations, and agreed that the parties should make efforts to ensure that the visit of the USSR president to Japan will become a major turning point in Soviet-Japanese relations, lend impetus to their cardinal improvement, activate dialogue on a broad spectrum of international problems in the interests of deepening mutual understanding between the two countries, and facilitate the expansion of interaction in the international arena.

The ministers expressed a common hope for achieving accords in the course of the summit talks aimed at substantial progress in the matter of a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty—negotiations toward the conclusion of which are being conducted more intensively between both countries' governments—as well as in the economic, scientific and technical, cultural, humanitarian, and other spheres of bilateral relations.

The ministers have signed a memorandum on matters concerning preparations for the visit of the USSR president to Japan. They have agreed to keep issues in the preparation for the visit of the USSR president to Japan constantly within their field of vision, and to regularly exchange information and thoughts on these issues, including, if necessary, personal meetings between them. In accordance with the agreements reached in the joint Soviet-Japanese declaration of 10 October 1973, the ministers continued negotiations on the conclusion of a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty. During these the parties expounded their understanding of the aspects involved in removing the difficulties existing in bilateral relations, and agreed to facilitate the further progress of the negotiations in the interests of concluding a peace treaty. The ministers assessed the activity of the working group on a peace treaty positively.

Within the framework of the latest meeting between the ministers, a deepened exchange of opinions has been conducted on other current questions of Soviet-Japanese relations and on a broad circle of international problems of mutual interest.

The participants in the talks assessed the efforts of the parties toward improving mutual relations positively—primarily the successful development of a political dialogue between the two countries—and agreed to continue and to multiply these efforts.

E.A. Shevardnadze expressed gratitude to the Japanese Government and to the Japanese people for their readiness to provide assistance in overcoming the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station. The foreign ministers of the USSR and Japan have signed a memorandum on cooperation between the two countries in this field.

An exchange of letters on the mutual dissemination of informative materials on the territory of the USSR and Japan has taken place.

Studying international problems, the ministers welcomed the palpable appearance since the previous consultative meeting of positive trends in the international situation, primarily in Europe, and expressed a united opinion regarding the necessity of accelerating these proceses in the Asia-Pacific Region as well. A discussion of matters concerning ensuring security in the Asia-Pacific region took place.

The participants in the talks, having expressed serious concern at the development of events in the the Persian Gulf, made a joint declaration on this matter.

A joint statement has also been adopted on an international experimental thermonuclear reactor.

E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, has invited T. Nakayama, Japanese foreign minister, to visit the Soviet Union on an official visit in late 1990 or early 1991 to hold the next meeting. The invitation has been accepted with gratitude. A specific time for the visit will be agreed on through diplomatic channels.

The Soviet-Japanese talks that have taken place in Tokyo have proceeded in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere, and were substantive and useful for both sides.

Japan's Kaifu on 'Northern Territories' Issue

LD0309202490 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Yegorov]

[Text] Tokyo September 3 TASS—Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan today called for an early solution of the "northern territories" problem, which causes a rift between Japan and the Soviet Union.

Commenting on the present state of Japanese-Soviet relations at an annual meeting of functionaries of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, Kaifu said that, although he did not share the Soviet leadership's "optimism" about prospects for the development of these relations, he called on the Soviet Union for "fruitful cooperation" in developing dialogue, the KYODO TSUSHIN News Agency reported.

Speaking on the "northern territories" problem, the prime minister said it would be an "exaggeration" to say that this problem was going to be solved next spring.

But, he added, the Soviet Union "should not put aside this issue in searching for ways to improve bilateral relations."

Participants in the meeting, which was also attended by Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama and other cabinet members, in their speeches pointed to the support for Japan's stand on the territories issue, expressed by other leading industrialised countries at their summit in Houston.

Far East Commanders Meet Japanese Politicians

LD0509162390 Khabarovsk Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Summary] A Japanese Socialist Party Diet member who has been leading a Japanese delegation to Khabarovsk said that the Soviet units in the Far East cannot be regarded as a real military threat to Japan. He said that the most important parts of their visit was a meeting with Colonel General Novozhilov, commander of the Far East Military Okrug and Vice Admiral (Maslennik), first deputy head of staff of the Pacific Fleet. The Japanese official said that the Soviet military leaders expressed their sincere desire to meet the leadership of the Japanese Self Defense Forces for a constructive examination of the problems of interest to both sides, and that the Japanese parliament would support such a meeting.

Japanese Journalists Visit PRAVDA 3 Sep

PM0509095590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report under the rubric: "International Information": "Japanese Journalists at PRAVDA"]

[Text] Yesterday our newspaper's editorial office was visited by a delegation from the club of Japanese journalists. I.T. Frolov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chief editor of PRAVDA, answered the guests' questions.

The Japanese journalists were interested in the progress of perestroyka, the development of glasnost and democracy, and the Soviet state's foreign policy moves.

Among the delegation from the club of Japanese journalists were representatives of ASAHI, YOMIURI, MAINICHI, and other major newspapers, and of television companies, universities, and research centers.

Thanks Sent to Japanese Hospital for Boy's Care

LD0609021490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0132 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tokyo, 6 Sep (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, has expressed gratitude to the staff of the hospital of the medical institute of Sapporo, the authorities of the island of Hokkaido, and all the other Japanese organizations and persons who took part in saving the life of Kostya Skoropyshnyy, a Soviet boy. He [Shevardnadze] is in Tokyo on an official visit.

In a letter sent by him to Taro Nakayama, the Japanese foreign minister, it is noted that the act of charity undertaken in Japan has profoundly moved the hearts of many people in the Soviet Union, who follow with trepidation the statements on the boy's course of treatment. "I marvel at the skill and self-sacrifice with which the Japanese specialists are fighting for his life," said the Soviet minister's letter.

On Wednesday, a second operation was successfully carried out on three-year-old Kostya Skoropyshnyy, who had received severe burns and was taken last week from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk to the hospital. According to doctors' statements, the boy's condition is stable.

DPRK, ROK Prepare for Joint UN Membership

PM0609153390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 90 Moscow Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Press Conference in the DPRK Embassy"]

[Text] The DPRK is prepared to join the United Nations Organization jointly with South Korea under the formula "one delegation from two parts in one seat." This was announced in Moscow by Kim Hui-su, DPRK charge d'affaires ad interim in the Soviet Union.

Mongolian Cultural Center Opens in Moscow

LD0609213990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] An information and cultural center of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] in the Soviet Union opened in Moscow today. It is the first Mongolian center of this kind not just in our country, but abroad as well. As was stressed by Enhsaihan, Mongolian charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, at a news conference yesterday, the main purpose of its opening is the further strengthening of friendship and the development of mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries in the new conditions of perestroyka being implemented by them. The information and cultural center will organize exhibitions, festivals, shows of the best Mongolian films, and performances of the MPR actors in various cities of our country. The center will acquaint the Soviet public with the life of the Mongolian people, their successes, and the great difficulties that are being encountered in implementing economic transformations in the country, further democratization, and the development of glasnost in Mongolia.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Reports, Commentary on Cambodian Settlement Talks

U.S. To Meet Cambodian Leaders

BK0609143590 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Commentary by station commentator Aleksey Nikolayev; read by announcer]

[Text] Concerning the U.S. decision to start direct talks with the Cambodian Government led by Comrade Hun Sen, aimed at pushing for a solution to this country's problem, our commentator Comrade Aleksey Nikolayev writes:

It is not surprising that this is prime news for Cambodia. The Cambodian side did not waste time expressing its reaction to this news. Assistant to the head of the State of Cambodia's Government, Comrade Hor Nam Hong, who is currently in Jakarta for talks with the opposition side, welcomed Washington's decision and said Phnom Penh is ready to hold talks at any level.

Although the step taken by the U.S. Government is out of the ordinary, I would not consider it surprising. It is the reasonable continuation of the U.S. policy on the Cambodian problem. It is known that changes in the U.S. attitude toward a solution took place in July this year when Washington announced direct talks with Vietnam and the end of support for the opposing Cambodian side in the United Nations. Furthermore, the United States also said it was looking into the possibility of direct talks with the Phnom Penh government at an appropriate time. Later on, in early September at the meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Irkutsk, James Baker promised to look into this possibility.

Speaking at a session of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State James Baker said in essence: Considering the constructive stance taken by the government of Hun Sen toward a solution to the problem and with the aim of lending further support to this process, we have decided to take another reasonable step and start a dialogue with representatives of Hun Sen through our charge d'affaires in Vientiane.

The foreign affairs chief of the United States noted in particular the attitude of Phnom Penh, which has agreed to the plans of the UN Security Council as the basis for a Cambodian solution. Although the problem cannot be considered solved yet, the process is moving in the right direction, James Baker said.

Despite difficulties and all kinds of obstacles on the path to a solution to the Cambodian problem, political personalities in other countries have in the past few days expressed optimism over the process. At a meeting in Harbin, the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China concluded that the solution to the problem is now in its final stage.

In the view of the majority of observers, everything now depends on the Cambodian parties themselves. On the basis of the documents adopted by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, they have the task of agreeing among themselves most quickly on a political solution, setting up a supreme national council, and ensuring peaceful conditions for general elections in the near future.

Our commentator, Comrade Aleksey Nikolayev concludes: As I have said, the Cambodian problem was discussed in Irkutsk by the foreign minister of the Soviet Union and the U.S. secretary of state. Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze pointed out the readiness of the Soviet Union to establish direct relations with Samdech Sihanouk if U.S. representatives also set up similar relations with Comrade Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen. A meeting between Soviet representatives and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk could be another reasonable step to push for a solution to the Cambodian problem.

UN Security Council Effort Needed

PM0609113590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by V. Ganshin: "Will the Meeting in Jakarta Take Place"?]

[Text] One week ago even, when the plan of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council on the principles of a political settlement of the Cambodian conflict had just been made public, the prospects for a meeting in the Indonesian capital at the beginning of September were altogether favorable. All the Cambodian forces directly involved in the conflict for more than 10 years now—the Phnom Penh government and the three coalition groups—expressed their agreement in principle to the proposed settlement plan. However, they soon refined their positions.

Today it seems that practically no one will venture to say with 100-percent certainty that the Jakarta meeting will take place. Doubts as to its advisability and effectiveness are even being expressed by Indonesian officials, particularly Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. In his opinion, if the opposing sides are unable to produce any compromise in the preliminary consultations, it is "better not to hold" the Jakarta meeting at all.

Phnom Penh is also modifying its stance here. As reported by Cambodian radio, Cambodian President Heng Samrin told a rally in the capital last Saturday that there is scarcely any point in regarding the UN plan as a solution to the problem. It merely serves as a basis for talks between the opposing sides.

Doubts concerning the seriousness of opposition intentions to bring the Jakarta meeting to a constructive conclusion are also raised by the fact that Sihanouk, as has just been announced in Bangkok, does not intend to

go the Indonesian capital to conduct the talks and is sending his son instead. Given this, Hun Sen has stated that he also declines to go to Jakarta, clearly foreseeing that it is scarcely likely that any specific issues will be solved in the absence of the Cambodian opposition's leader. Otherwise, anything else will mean a deliberate delaying of the process of elaborating mutually acceptable decisions.

Nevertheless, the hope still persists, despite all the difficulties, that the interested parties will be able to overcome their differences and sit down to negotiate in Jakarta. The accord reached between Eduard Shevardnadze and his Chinese colleague, Qian Qichen, during their short meeting in Harbin may serve as a weighty argument in its favor. The sides advocated stopping all military aid to the warring sides as part of the process of ending the civil war in Cambodia. In general it must be said that many specialists stress the special role of the great powers in this question, particularly the USSR, the PRC, and the United states. Perhaps more active involvement by them in the process of reconciling the sides and the use of their authority can help the hostile forces find compromise solutions.

'Favorable Conditions' Seen

LD0609170190 Moscow TASS in English 1557 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS political analyst Askold Biryukov]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker said in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recently that the United States was prepared to take another logical step and begin direct talks with Cambodian Government officials in order to move (?closer to) the eventual settlement of the Cambodian issue.

The first step on this road was the American Administration's recent decision to deny recognition of the three-partite coalition headed by Norodom Sihanouk as representatives of Cambodia in the United nations and the declaration of readiness to begin negotiations with Hanoi on a Cambodian settlement.

The new decision is another logical step in the revision of the U.S. stance towards Cambodia, expressing the will of the overwhelming majority of American legislators and the American public, concerned over Khmer Rouge attempts to force their way to power in Cambodia.

Nearly two-thirds of the Senators, who welcomed the first step in the U.S. Administration's reversed stance towards Cambodia in June, later said it was insufficient.

They demanded that the President begin direct negotiations with the Hun Sen government, extend aid to Cambodia and work for holding free elections in that country under U.N. observation as soon as possible. Senators resolutely spoke out against further aid to Khmer anti-government groups.

The U.S. Administration's new move has evoked a favourable response from Phnom Penh. Cambodian minister, assistant to the chairman of the council of ministers (foreign and judicial), Hor Nam Hong welcomed the step and said in Jakarta, the venue of the forthcoming meeting of the Cambodian sides, that Phnom Penh was ready for discussions with Americans at any level.

On the other side, representatives of Vietnam and the United States met in New York last Friday for the second time in thirty days to discuss a plan for a comprehensive Cambodian settlement, worked out by the five permanent Security Council members in late (?April).

All Cambodian parties welcomed this plan thus opening the way towards its detailed discussion and the creation of a supreme national council of Cambodia at the meeting of Cambodian parties in Jakarta.

Favourable conditions for the settlement of the Cambodian issue are being created by the five permanent Security Council members' unified position as regards a comprehensive settlement in Cambodia and the Asian-Pacific countries' efforts to facilitate the settlement. The focus is now shifting to the activity of Cambodian parties. How fast peace will return to the much-suffering land of Cambodia depends on the degree of responsibility with which each of the parties to the conflict will act.

Vietnam Celebrates 45th Anniversary of Independence

Meeting in Moscow Held

BK0609105590 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1000 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] A grand meeting was held at the Friendship House in Moscow to mark the 45th anniversary of Vietnam's declaration of independence. Our station correspondent reports:

Participating in the presidium of the meeting were members of the Vietnamese-Soviet Friendship Association delegation; SRV Ambassador to the Soviet Union Nguyen Manh Kam; Yanayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; and Gusev, vice chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers.

Sychev, first vice chairman of the Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship Association Central Committee, read the opening speech, warmly greeting the Vietnamese friends on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of their country's declaration of independence. Dealing with Soviet-Vietnamese relations, Sychev said:

[Begin recording in Russian fading into Vietnamese translation] I like very much the Vietnamese saying that gold is tested by fire and man's strength by hardship. The durability of Soviet-Vietnamese friendship has stood the test of time, both during the Vietnamese people's

struggle against aggression and in peaceful construction. The cooperation between our two countries is developing fruitfully in many directions. Recently, our economic cooperation has developed essentially on the basis of mutual benefit. This has stimulated the search for new forms of cooperation such as the setting up of joint ventures and the broadening of direct contact between workers' collectives and between different localities of the two countries. Meanwhile, cooperation in the ideological field has taken on a new content. [end recording]

Sychev stressed: We have understood the necessity of multiple paths to socialist development and the various forms of restructuring in each particular country. This is related to the different levels of economic development and the uniqueness of cultural traditions and national history. At the same time, there is a growing need to join each other in finding ways to overcome difficulties in the restructuring process. Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation in the international forum stems from our common objective, namely, to guarantee peace and stability. The Soviet Union fully supports the SRV's active steps aimed at seeking a quick political solution to the resolving the Cambodian issue and making the climate in Southeast Asia healthier. The Soviet people support the reforms currently taking place in Vietnam in the renovation process and wish the Vietnamese people more achievements in carrying out these reforms.

Participants in the meeting warmly applauded Comrade Dang Huu, head of the Vietnamese-Soviet Friendship Association delegation, secretary of the party Central Committee, chairman of the Vietnam State Science and Technology Commission, president of the Vietnamese-Soviet Friendship Association, when he stepped on the podium. Comrade Dang Huu said:

[Begin recording] The delegation of the Vietnamese-Soviet Friendship Association is very happy to join the Soviet comrades in celebrating the 45th anniversary of our people's glorious, historic day—the day when the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first worker-peasants state in Southeast Asia, was declared. On behalf of the delegation and Comrade Ambassador Nguyen Manh Kam , we would like to extend to all of you who are present at this meeting and to all the fraternal Soviet people our respectful greetings and our warmest congratulations. [end recording]

Comrade Dang Huu reported on the changes currently taking place in Vietnam and stressed that the economic policy has yielded significant initial results. He also expressed deep gratitude to the Soviet people for their comprehensive and effective support and assistance to Vietnam. In conclusion, Comrade Dang Huu said:

[Begin recording] It is our wish that the Soviet people will overcome all difficulties and achieve success in the restructuring process. We wish the friendship and cooperative relations between the Vietnamese and Soviet peoples constant consolidation and development. [end recording]

This grand meeting of the people in the capital city of the Soviet Union marked the opening of Soviet-Vietnamese friendship activities on the occasion of Vietnam's 45th National Day.

Gorbachev Sends Greetings

PM0609091590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[Soviet leaders' greetings message to Vietnam counterparts]

[Text] To Comrade Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee

Comrade Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV Council of State

Comrade Do Muoi, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers

Comrade Le Quang Do, chairman of the SRV National Assembly

Dear Comrades!

On the occasion of the SRV jubilee—the 45th anniversary of the proclamation of the country's independence—we send cordial greetings to you and to all Vietnamese working people.

Over the past decades Vietnam has traversed a hard but glorious path of struggle for the motherland's freedom and unity. Soviet people are gratified by the successes achieved by the Vietnamese people in the implementation of the party's course of renewal. The SRV makes a weighty and positive contribution toward the settlement of the Cambodian conflict and the improvement of the political climate in Southeast Asia.

People in the Soviet Union value the time-tested friendship with Vietnam. Our peoples are united by the desire to impart a modern meaning to the socialist idea and to more fully reveal socialism's constructive and humanitarian potential. We will continue to strengthen the ties with the SRV and to work jointly with the Vietnamese comrades to ensure that our cooperation becomes more dynamic and brings greater benefit to both countries' national economies.

We wish you, dear comrades, and to all Vietnamese people success in solving the tasks of society's comprehensive renewal and making your motherland prosperous and happy.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev
N. Ryzhkov
A. Lukyanov

New Ambassador Appointed to Singapore

PM0609145590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Unattributed "Chronicle" report]

[Text] The president of the USSR has appointed Nikolay Nikolayevich Loginov USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Singapore.

The president of the USSR has released Anatoliy Matveyevich Dryukov from his duties as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Singapore on his transfer to other work.

Gorbachev, Indonesian Counterpart Send Greetings

LD0609183690 Moscow TASS in English 1828 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a congratulatory telegram to his Indonesian counterpart Suharto on the 45th anniversary of Indonesian independence, expressing hope that friendship and cooperation between the two countries will continue on the solid basis of agreements reached during Suharto's visit to the USSR.

In his reply telegram, Suharto thanked Gorbachev on behalf of the Indonesian Government and people as well as on his own behalf for the warm congratulations and wished prosperity to the Soviet people.

Nepalese Reportage on Deputy Minister's Visit

WA0209192890

For Nepalese reportage on the visit to Nepal of Viktor Gorlov, Deputy Minister for Civil Aviation, including talks with Nepalese Prime Minister Prasad Bhattarai, see the South Asia Division, Nepal & Bhutan Section of the 5 September Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev, Mitterrand Discuss Gulf Crisis

LD0609171590 Moscow TASS in English 1659 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—President Francois Mitterrand of France called his Soviet counterpart Mikhail Gorbachev today, in keeping with their understanding on regular contacts.

Their discussion accorded with the spirit of high trust established between the two presidents and with their mutual responsibility for the effective and timely use of the Soviet-French factor in international affairs.

The discussion of the Gulf crisis confirmed their agreement on the need for relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions to be fulfilled unfailingly and undeviatingly.

These resolutions reflect the common will of most countries as regards the Iraqi actions. It is of fundamental significance at the new stage in world politics to ensure the authority of these decisions.

Mitterrand and Gorbachev also discussed a Middle East settlement in a broader context.

They discussed some issues connected with Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to France and the CSCE summit this autumn.

The presidents agreed to continue their contacts.

Iraqi Premier Speaks at Moscow News Conference

JN0609151290 Baghdad Domestic Service in Arabic 1415 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and foreign minster, has stressed that his visit to the Soviet Union took place at the instructions of leader President Saddam Husayn to brief Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Iraq's position on the current situation in the Arabian Gulf region.

Speaking at a news conference in Moscow today at the conclusion of a two-day visit, Tariq 'Aziz said viewpoints were exchanged on the situation in our region prior to President Gorbachev's meeting with the U.S. President in Helsinki, scheduled for Sunday [9 September]. He indicated that the Iraqi and Soviet sides presented their assessments of the ongoing situation in the Arabian Gulf region, but at the same time and in accordance with the traditions of friendship and mutual good relations between our two countries, we held a sincere and frank exchange of opinions with President Gorbachev.

Responding to a question by THE WASHINGTON POST, the foreign minister pointed out that Iraq has not asked President Gorbachev to convey any message to George Bush, and that his talks with the Soviet president were confined to an exchange of views on Iraq's positions. He added that if President Gorbachev wishes to use the information and arguments presented by Iraq, this will then be up to him.

Commenting on a question from a Norwegian television correspondent, Tariq 'Aziz said: I have presented our position and ideas to the Soviet president and friends in the Foreign Ministry. As for the situation in our region, we respect the stance of our Soviet friends. What we want and what I asked for is that our stance be understood, too, so that the bonds of friendship can be strengthened and various viewpoints understood. Only in this way can we move in the direction of solving problems. He added: The situation has developed rapidly over the past few months and we have had no time to exchange views—not only with our Soviet friends, but also with other countries. Therefore, when contacts are held in a sincere, constructive atmosphere, it always promotes mutual understanding. This does not mean that there must be total agreement, but it will lead to a better understanding of positions.

Speaking to the Soviet television team, the foreign minister said Iraq has its own way, and all are ready to

defend it. The situation has developed quickly, and there has been no time to explain it to the international community and governments of various countries. He expressed his conviction that time will make all parties understand the true situation correctly and that many positive positions will be taken in support of the truth.

On the resumption of dialogue with the Soviet leadership, Tariq 'Aziz told the Soviet NOVOSTI news agency: We have made plain our desire to the Soviet leadership for continued dialogue in future. If the Soviet leadership should want to communicate anything to us after the Helsinki summit, we would only be too glad. On the subject of freedom of movement for Soviet nationals in Iraq, 'Aziz stressed that there are no problems there. They have not been subjected to any restrictions, and they can stay or leave. The measures to which other foreign nationals have been subjected do not apply to them.

On the prospects of a peaceful, political solution to the problem, the deputy prime minister and foreign minister told the BBC that each side has its own perspective. 'Aziz said he is confident the Arab states can work out a peaceful solution among themslves. He emphasized that he is convinced that such an Arab framework could be set up. The reported divergence of Arab views given the stand of certain governments, he added, is superseded by a united outlook by the Arab masses, which is also shared by active political forces. Notwithstanding the alliance of certain Arab governments with the Americans, the mood of unity in the Arab world will prevail at the end of the day, the foreign minister remarked. There will, therefore, be a wide scope for an Arab-based solution to the problem. We do feel the pulse of our region, but, it takes time for other nations elsewhere in the world to feel this pulse.

The foreign minister emphasized that the problems in our region are interlinked, citing Israel's occupation of Palestinian territory, the Palestinian problem, and the Lebanese issue. These issues, he noted, are seen by other governments in a different light from how we view them. They are focusing on certain elements of these problems, he added. As for us, His Excellency President Saddam Husayn last month presented an initiative for the UN Security Council to tackle all the problems of the region according to the same standards, rather than using double standards. He said: We are discussing these ideas with our Soviet friends who are listening to us with interest. I am appreciate and am thankful for their stand. I would point out, however, that the White House rejection of Iraq's initiative only hours after it was announced speaks of a passive yet arrogant posture. He also noted that a few days later, Britain and France were similarly passive toward the initiative.

If there is anything to be learned from such a reaction, it is that they are not about to solve the Palestinian problem at this juncture. Nor are they ready to bother with the travails of the Palestinian people. All they will do is focus their attention on the shaykhs of Kuwait and their allied rulers in the Gulf.

Tariq 'Aziz wondered: Why are the Americans focusing their efforts on a single problem? Because they have a vested interest in this problem—in the billions of dollars deposited in U.S., Western, Japanese, and other banks. This is what is bothering them. These are their concerns. They are not concerned with the women and children who are suffering and being beaten up in the occupied Arab territories. They are talking of humanitarian objectives. But for them, these people are not human beings. The only human beings to Bush, Thatcher, and leaders of Western states are the shaykhs of Kuwait. We seek to expose to the world the duplicity inherent in this position. We are not against international moves. The Arab people as well as the Iraqi people have always said that they have a vested interest in upholding international law fairly. Over scores of years, we have made immense efforts at the United Nations asking that our rights be addressed. We attempted to establish justice in our region and to liberate the Palestinians from Israeli occupation. However, when 14 members of the UN Security Council voted in favor of a draft resolution calling for investigating the crimes perpetrated against the Palestinian people, the Americans used the veto to obstruct the passage of the said draft resolution.

The foreign minister added: But when the talk is of the corrupt shaykhs of Kuwait, who spend billions of dollars in the casinos of France, in the Riviera, and at other gambling saloons, the Americans send their troops to the region to occupy the Arabian peninsula and Islamic holy sites. These are the causes for which the Americans devote their efforts.

Tariq 'Aziz went on to say: If the Americans have a vested interest in defending international laws, and if they seek to uphold the sovereignty and rights of peoples, we do not object to this in principle. Let us then head for the UN Security Council and discuss all of these issues to formulate general principles in this regard. When such principles are formulated, we would be ready to consider all issues. We will then contribute our share toward the implementation of such principles and rules.

Reports Continue on Gulf Consultations, Events

Libyan Envoy Arrives in Moscow

LD0709144590 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—A personal representative of the Libyan leadership, Jumaa Farjani, is in Moscow to detail Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi's peace initiative for a fair solution to the Gulf crisis, officials at the Libyan Embassy in Moscow told TASS.

Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's September 1 initiative was timed for the 21st anniversary of the Libyan revolution.

The embassy officials said Farjani arrived here on Thursday from Beijing and his visit is "part of the Libyan leadership's efforts towards a peace settlement" in the Gulf.

As became known to a TASS diplomatic correspondent, Farjani met Soviet officials today.

Soviet Expert Assesses Policy

PM0609151990 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Interview with Viktor Kremenyuk of the USSR Academy of Sciences United States of America and Canada Institute in Moscow by correspondent Peter Snow in London from the Channel 4 "News" broadcast—recorded]

[Text] [Snow] Earlier I talked to Viktor Kremenyuk, an expert on Soviet-Middle East affairs at the United States and Canada Institute in Moscow. I asked him first whether the Soviet Union is concerned that America may use military force as a first option.

[Kremenyuk] Well, I think that Moscow right now is not inclined to support the use of the direct use of force right now, since the opinion is here that yet not all the diplomatic means were used to the full text.

[Snow] But do you have an anxiety that the United States wants to use force right now?

[Kremenyuk] Yes I think so. Since, you know, the use of force right now when Saddam Husayn tries to maneuver would maybe inflict too much damage to the international stability, especially in the Arab world in general.

[Snow] Will Mr. Gorbachev on Sunday try to persuade Mr. Bush against using military force, then?

[Kremenyuk] Yes, I think so. I think that at least he will try to persuade him to wait until all the diplomatic means are used: I mean through the United Nations, through the direct Soviet-Iraqi relations, and maybe through the other channels.

[Snow] Now there has been some speculation here that there is a split between people like Mr. Gorbachev himself and some rather more hardline elements in the military, who feel that Moscow should not have been quite so strong with Iraq as it has been.

[Kremenyuk] Well, I think that the anxieties which were voiced by some military leaders in this country are a bit over-exaggerated and partly they are used for the domestic needs since in some period, maybe within a couple of weeks, the military budget will be discussed here in the Supreme Soviet and I think that there is an attempt to use the situation to support the... at least the claims that the military have for the budget for the next year.

[Snow] Another instance in which you have common ground with the United Nations political establishment....

[Kremenyuk] Exactly, exactly.

[Snow] But what solution do you see, if you hand it over to the Arab world itself—that is, a world that is itself very divided. What, what solution can you hope to see from there?

[Kremenyuk] I think the solution of the problem will be not that rapid as maybe the Americans and some people in the West think. And the solution would be some... will take some longer time and a sustained diplomatic effort.

[Snow] But how then do people in Moscow see the Americans dealing with the situation in which they now have a huge buildup of forces in the region and may have to sit there for a long time?

[Kremenyuk] Well I think the Americans will live up to their obligations, according to the treaty with Saudi Arabia, and they had all the reasons, all the grounds for that buildup. And if that buildup deters the Iraqis against attacking Saudi Arabia, that's fine.

[Snow] You have no anxiety that the sheer scale of what they have there means that they will have, in the end, to resolve it military.

[Kremenyuk] Well, I think that if the Iraqis do not attack Saudi Arabia then there will be no reason for the Americans to use directly the force against Iraq. As to the Kuwait situation, there are the decisions by the United Nations Security Council and these decisions have to be... have to be realized or put into practice.

Commentaries on Gulf Crisis Continue

U.S. Buildup Questioned

PM0609121190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by L. Koryavin: "The Conflict Zone Time Bomb"]

[Text] Maybe we have had enough crises in the Near East.... The Arab-Israeli conflict has kept it in turmoil for decades. Yet another has developed now. It was caused by Iraq's irresponsible aggression against Kuwait. This is already an inter-Arab crisis. And even more than that. Both the majority of Arab states and the world community have taken a stand against Baghdad's action. Such unity has not been experienced in the world since World War II. Furthermore, the aggression was a direct challenge to the new processes developing in the international arena. It runs contrary to the new thinking, the idea behind which is that the world must live without wars and arms race.

Did Baghdad know that its action was running contrary to these processes? Or did it expect a recurrence of the

past, a fresh confrontation between the USSR and the United States, from which it could actually profit? I think that Baghdad's strategic calculations were based on the latter position. It also counted on what could be described as the "Near East stereotype" of our foreign policy. Yes, it did exist. And unfortunately, we got many states accustomed to that idea.

Had today's events occurred a few years ago, we would really have taken a different stand. Baghdad evidently counted on the presumption that the term "aggression" would have been applied not to its attack on Kuwait but to the landing of U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia.

The "Near East stereotype" would have resulted in a flow of fresh military deliveries by us to the region, which would have meant additional sparks in the hotbed of impending crisis. And the main point would have been that the pyramid of our burdensome military expenditures would have grown.

The Americans are already paying for the "Saudi operation": The maintenance of their military contingent costs 46 million a day, with total costs expected to reach 2.5 billion by the end of the month. These are the Pentagon's estimates, with the 2.5 billion covering only ground-based combined units, never mind the ships and aircraft carriers.... Under the old stereotype's principles, we would have put a fresh financial noose around our neck by launching "airlifts" into the Near East. There is no doubt that, in today's circumstances, this noose would have proved really "fatal"....

It is estimated that the arms trade is the most profitable section of international trade. This is true. Under certain circumstances, however, it could have a boomerang effect. In contrast with Egypt, where we poured entire "written-off military districts" in the past, as if into a bottomless pit, relations with Baghdad were built on payments in hard convertible currency. Profitable, on the face of it.... But whenever dangerous conflicts develop, financial settlements are immediately subject to substantial amendments. In the first place, the payments process is put off. Debts are extended.

Western sources cite different figures of Iraq's indebtedness to the Soviet Union, ranging from six to 10 to 20 billion. Even the arithmetic average represents a vast sum. It is hard to say when it will be repaid. Iraq acquired arms not only from the Soviet Union but from a whole series of other countries, including France, China, and Czechoslovakia. It is also hard to tell where we would rank in the debt repayment line. Saddam Husayn has now demanded of the Iraqis to tighten their belts, which means that there is no point in hoping for Iraqi deliveries of some other commodities in exchange for arms. Especially since oil is Iraq's main form of payment.

It is possible to imagine how much our new deliveries and our new "airlifts" would have cost. Do we need such a burden now? I'm sure that we don't. Moreover, nobody can forecast when the conflict will end and, mainly, in which direction it will develop. Thus, there is a danger that any funds "earned" as a result of arms sales would remain as "hostages" in Iraq. It might be possible to justify military aid to Baghdad had it been attacked from outside. But Iraq itself is the aggressor today, and military cooperation must certainly be subject to purely defensive goals.

But the conflict's escalation means more than just a growth of the pyramid of financial burden. It also contains a potential threat. Look no further than the serious confrontation which developed in the Near East between the USSR and the United States, followed by the declaration of U.S. nuclear alert, during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. A regional conflict evolved into a global nuclear threat, and this could be repeated today. But reason has recently gained the upper hand in Soviet-U.S. relations. It seems to me that a really far-reaching process could emerge from the joint discussion of the aggression between the Soviet Union and the United States. Opportunities might emerge to coordinate our lines not just to prevent any escalation of the current crisis. A chance might emerge for a settlement of the Near East's common problems, a settlement which would of course be strictly a package of peaceful actions and agreement, rather than reciprocal pressure, let alone any hustling for positions. It is up to the United States. Let me explain why.

The Near East is a powder keg. A permanent conflict zone. Hence the derivative: Mountains of arms gushing into the region, and military presence by foreign states there. It is said that the United States is in a leading position today, without any competition. We are no longer living in the sixties, when there were thousands of Soviet military personnel in Egypt. The United States is the sole real foreign force in the region. Its ships have "gripped" the Near and Middle East. The region is surrounded by a chain of U.S. military bases. Its military presence is today being stepped up via the "airlift" into Saudi Arabia.

The so-called "Near East war scenario" was elaborated a long time ago in the U.S. strategic centers. Even though this document was stamped "top secret" and hidden inside the Pentagon's safes, it did leak into the press. I have extracts from it before me. I will quote from what HARPERS MAGAZINE published. The main strategic calculation is that, in the event of a crisis situation, the United States would move into the Near East not just its forward-based contingents on ships in the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean, and the Indian Ocean. It would also activate forces stationed in West Europe, Okinawa, and Diego Garcia Island. A permanent "airlift" would be instituted directly from the United States to the Near East.

Following today's events, one can really perceive this actual scenario, elaborated by the U.S. military command a few years ago. Everything is happening—step by step, as listed in this Pentagon document. The same base in Dhahran as a staging post for U.S. forces in Saudi

Arabia. The same gigantic "Galaxies" landing there every 10 minutes with U.S. personnel and equipment. Following the scenario, the United States is moving its soldiers to the Near East from European and Japanese bases, from that selfsame strategic island of Diego Garcia.

But there is a single "but" here. The scenario was elaborated "in the event of a military conflict with the Soviet Union." This is actually its strategic creed. This is what it emphasizes. The Pentagon document justified the scale of the concentration of U.S. forces by the danger of global, rather than a regional, conflict developing. But such a confrontation between the USSR and the United States does not exist today. Consequently, is such a large-scale scenario of military confrontation in the Near East justified today? Of course not. It has lost its meaning following the changes in mutual relations between our states. This was the idea expressed by leading U.S. diplomats in Moscow when I talked with them. At the same time, they did not give an answer as to the likely "ceiling" of U.S. military presence in the Near East in connection with today's events.

The movement of U.S. forces is still going on. Tank subunits have already been loaded on ships. The U.S. command is planning to move its main combined units with heavy weapons into Saudi Arabia by mid-September, and to complete the entire operation for the concentration of its forces according to the "Near East war scenario" by mid-October. A rather extended schedule, as we can see, bearing in mind that the U.S. "airlift" has been in operation for almost a month now. As a matter of fact, U.S. military specialist, like Admiral Crowe for example, consider time schedules to be the "weak spot" of their Near East strategy: The transportation of two divisions by air takes about two months. This is why the U.S. generals insist that the United States acquires "permanent presence zones" in the Near East.

The scale of U.S. operations in Saudi Arabia has started causing concern in this Arab country itself. Even before the events, the United States had repeatedly approached Riyadh, requesting permission to deploy U.S. forces on its territory, but received a negative reply on each occasion. But now Saudi Arabia, fearing aggression by Iraq, has given its consent. But, according to ABC-TV reports, the commander of the U.S. Expeditionary Corps has admitted that "Saudi Arabia is stunned by the scale and speed of the U.S. response to its request to have its security protected."

Is this not a case of exceeding the level necessary "for the defense of Saudi Arabia and for guaranteeing the safety of oil fields," as the United States explained the purpose of its actions? This is a legitimate question, and so is another one: Will the U.S. military presence become a stabilizing factor for settling the crisis situation or will it, on the contrary, destabilize the situation in the region? There can be no argument: An Iraqi aggression against Saudi Arabia must be prevented. Kuwait's sovereignty must be restored. But the Near East is indeed a powder keg. Fresh arms and fresh troops are just time bombs attached to it. Therefore, anything over and above reasonable sufficiency of U.S. troops in the region could only have negative consequences. Instead of the necessary narrowing of spheres of conflicts in the Near East, there will be an expansion of U.S. military presence zones there.

And the bitter irony is that Baghdad has actually assisted these U.S. actions. And yet Baghdad claims the role of main fighter against the West's presence in the Near East. The paradox is that Saddam Husayn has given the "green light" to stepped-up U.S. military presence in the region. It is he who is playing the role of lobbyist for large-scale U.S. military programs. It was Iraq's aggression that dealt a trump card to people in Washington who pushed the creation of new weapons, including the supermodern "Stealth" aircraft. Whereas the House of Representatives initially turned down the "Stealth" project as "expensive," the echo of explosions in the Persian Gulf has made it yield to the military's views.

Saddam Husayn claimed the role of the Arab world's leader. He believed that it should be headed by a "strong personality." He took this to mean ability to deal a military blow. But these calculations actually showed up his weakness. Not only did the overwhelming majority of Arab states fail to give him the leadership mandate but, on the contrary, Saddam Husayn found himself in isolation and his country has been blockaded. He also miscalculated when banking on the Palestinians. He was backed by 'Arafat and sizeable forces on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. But his miscalculation lay elsewhere.

There are 300,000 Palestinians living in Kuwait. There are thousands of them in Saudi Arabia. Together with other Arabs and emigres from Asian countries—Pakistanis, Indians, and Persians—they make up the main bulk of what are called "foreign workers." They are the people who extract the oil—the region's basic wealth. According to Baghdad's calculations, the Palestinians in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia should have become a "fifth column" which would have helped to transfer the oil fields from the "reactionary emirs" into the hands of Baghdad's "revolutionary leaders." But the Palestinians did not back the aggression. The concerns of daily life proved more important that "revolutionary" enthusiasm. Moreover, their life was struck by disaster following the aggression: People who had acquired skills in the oil fields and were earning respectable wages, lost their jobs when the Iraqi tanks arrived. The Palestinians joined the exodus by thousands of other workers from Iraqi-captured Kuwait.

Iraq's aggression did not ease but actually aggravated the Palestinians' problems in the Arab territories occupied by Israel. The seizure of Kuwait and the new inter-Arab crisis played into Tel-Aviv's hands. It gained a trump card enabling it, on the one hand, to start talking once more about the aggressive nature of "Arab nationalism" and, on the other hand, to divert the public's attention

from its own actions on the occupied territories and to justify the buildup of its own military potential. Israel, taking advantage of the crisis, immediately requested fresh arms from the United States. Baghdad did nothing but help Tel Aviv. And one more point. Iraq's aggression also dealt a blow against Arab unity. An economic union—the Arab Cooperation Council—was recently founded and joined by Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Yemen. But, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES, "Iraq's seizure of Kuwait shattered whatever had been achieved."

These are the consequences of the latest Near East crisis. A new knot has been tied in the conflict, instead of prospects emerging for the peaceful settlement of its numerous problems in the region. Turning back to the time factor: Let us recall the number of resolutions adopted by the United Nations to settle crisis situations in the Near East—Nos. 242, 338, 425.... There they still are, just pieces of paper. Resolutions dealing with Iraq's aggression against Kuwait—No. 660 through No. 665—have now been added to them.... So far, they have not been fully implemented, either.

But a new and promising factor has emerged in the Security Council's practical activity: The USSR and the United States, just like the remaining permanent members of this important organ, were unanimously against the Iraqi aggression. Prospects have thus emerged that U.S.-Soviet cooperation may help to untangle the complex Near East knots. Here is an opportunity for joint USSR-U.S. actions implemented through the United Nations. They will not only boost this organization's prestige but, and this is the main point, they will pave the way to a solution of regional conflicts. This is in line with the spirit of the times, the spirit of the new thinking.

U.S. Troop Morale Evaluated

PM0609154290 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by Colonel V. Markushin: "When the Euphoria Passes"]

[Text] The American military leaders' estimates of the time frame for the troops shipped to Saudi Arabia to achieve readiness for hostilities, on the one hand, seem to give Baghdad time for reflection. On the other, obviously, they demonstrate Washington's more cautious, considered approach to assessing the possible consequences of military intervention, an approach which has imperceptibly taken the place of the first emotional views on how the aggressor would speedily "get what he deserves" for the act of piracy.

The period of four, or even 10, weeks of preparation which the Americans are talking about is a reasonable period. It will, of course, make it possible to knock into shape the units and subunits arriving here and "acclimatize" them. But there could also be costs arising from the tormenting wait for victorious actions, the unbearable heat, the inevitable equipment breakdowns, and the longing for home and comfort. "The lack of familiar conditions is the downside of the brilliant 'Desert Shield' operation," NBC correspondent A. Kent writes in a reportage from Saudi Arabia. "The weather is warm, the water is hot. Cold beer is only a memory, and entertainment a mirage. The sense of remoteness from home is intensified by the fact that too little mail or news about the crisis is arriving."

The sending of American troops to the Gulf zone, judging by the American leadership's statements, is as yet demonstrating the soldiers' high level of combat readiness and morale. There is not much doubt about this. Behind the combat readiness lies a well-oiled system of training professionals. Behind the morale is an emotional high, the desire to stand up for justice and defend the weak. And, of course, the desire—constantly and skillfully maintained by the propaganda apparatus—to "fly anywhere, any time" to defend American interests. In this case the Pentagon has a solid pretext: the whiff of lost influence not just anywhere, but in the kingdom of black gold.

In the spring I had occasion to talk with some paratroopers at Fort Bragg—those who took part in the operation to occupy Panama. Six months after the action, the soliders, in my view, were still excited, still reliving the speed of what happened, the show of strength and surprise, and in the end the joy of a rapid return to the home base to the rejoicing of their families and the local population.

Now American soldiers find themselves in a different situation. It is frivolous to speak of a bloodless and rapid victory. The press is already mentioning figures for possible losses in the event of large-scale hostilities—20,000 or 30,000. These are, of course, hypothetical figures. They could be smaller, but they could also exceed the most pessimistic predictions. The ease with which Marshal Husayn speaks of the possibility of chemical strikes prompts us to ponder the worst options. And such reflections lead to inferences that go much further than to define the pluses and minuses of the American troops' fighting morale.

What next? Will the "position of strength" principle work, or will strength be put in motion? Will the Iraqi military leaders lose their belligerence, or will they stop at nothing? The list of questions could be continued. Answering them is more difficult.

Perhaps the situation will become simpler after the meeting of the two presidents in Helsinki? Let us hope so.

Iranian Plane Returned After Violating Airspace

LD0609214290 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] The Iranian Air Force plane which violated Soviet air space last week to land in the city of Nakhichevan has been returned to the Iranian authorities together with the

crew. The pilots told the investigator that the incident occurred due to bad weather and visibility and the loss of radio contact with air traffic controllers. Iran has thanked the Soviet side for the quick return of the plane and crew.

Israeli Minister on Non-Jewish Immigration

PM0409091190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 90 p 3

[TASS report: "Tight Grip on 'Promised Land'"]

[Text] Israeli Immigration Minister Y. Peretz has expressed the need for a review of the law determining the criteria by which citizenship is granted to immigrants entering the country. He noted with concern the recent increase in the number of non-Jewish settlers.

Reporting this, America's CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR notes that the primary cause of the Israeli leadership's alarm is immigration from the Soviet Union. Thus, this year alone 30 percent of the 70,000 immigrants arriving in Israel are not Jews. If the existing criteria are not reviewed, the newspaper thinks, in the next few years immigrants from the USSR will markedly change the demographic and religious makeup of Israeli society. In this context the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR recalls that under Israeli law only someone who has a Jewish mother and who has officially accepted Judaism can be considered a Jew.

Emergence of Links With Libya Examined

LD0209100690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Excerpts] It is 1730 in Moscow, the traditional time on Mayak devoted to news of international life. In the studio are presenter Lidiya Podolnaya and political observer Igor Fesunenko. So let us move on to the news. In front of me I have a calendar of noteable dates. [passage omitted]

There is only one national day today, Libya's revolution day. The calendar informs me that in 1969, as a result of a coup d'etat, the monarchy was abolished and the Libyan Arab Republic was declared. Usually on the occasion of national days it used to be the tradition to speak of the successes achieved over the past years. Of course, there are some of these, but... but the noticeable exacerbation of the world situation as a result of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait—and by the way tomorrow it will be one month since the aggression began—prompts us to thoughts that are far from festive. What do you think, Igor Sergeyevich?

[Fesunenko] Yes, undoubtedly, and in order to understand what is happening now, I propose to look back to 27 years ago to the appearance of the Libyan Arab Republic which subsequently came to be called the Socialist Peoples Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, a complicated name which means approximately the power of the people, the power of the popular masses.

It was precisely at that time that our close links with Libya were born. It was precisely then that the system of relations arose which—paradoxically but nevertheless true—led to Libya's being now in the opposite camp, and our arms which were supplied to Libya are now working not at all in the interests of our policy or our aims. Just as, by the way, is happening with our weapons which have been supplied over all of these years to Iraq and Yemen.

So, when the Libyan Arab Republic arose we, proceeding from our traditional policy of confrontation with the United States—the enemies of our friends are our friends—immediately began to strengthen our relations with post-revolutionary Libya. Indeed, at first it adopted the most anti-imperialist course, and it continues to do so. Literally a few months later, the British bases were evacuated, in March 1970, and then the U.S. bases. And this constant Libyan confrontation with the United States, with imperialism as they said, led to the fact that our links on the contrary grew stronger.

[Podolnaya] In the main, evidently, arms supplies.

[Fesunenko] Yes, in the main by means of arms supplies. Libya feverishly armed itself, evidently preparing for some decisive battle with imperialism. Let me cite just these few figures. The population of Libya is about four million—half the population of Moscow—but in 1979, for example, it spent about $8 billion on armaments. That means that in one year each Libyan spent on weapons, or to be more precise, each one had $2,000 taken from him. That is a fantastic sum.

And all of this was possible because of our help. And on the Libyan part, by means of gigantic profits from the sale of oil. Both then and now Libya received 99.93 percent of its export earnings from oil.

[Podolnaya] Was there any advantage to our side?

[Fesunenko] From the delivery of these arms to Libya, as to other countries? Well, in the main there is a certain benefit since, at least, it is not Ethiopia, or Mozambique, or Angola. In any event we received some kind of profit from the concentrated deliveries of our arms to Libya. Although, even now, let us say, according to various data, Libya owes us about $2 billion, even more according to certain data. There are no accurate data. So, from a purely material point of view indubitably, there was a certain gain for us here.

[Podolnaya] How does this fit in at all with the principles of new political thinking? Now, after all, we are reassessing our relations with many countries. There are already some actual results. But, what about Libya, and the countries to which we delivered arms in such quantities?

[Fesunenko] You know, this is indeed a complex, vexed question, and here, I think, both our parliament, the Supreme Soviet, and our diplomats—and all of us—have still to think through this very profoundly.

The same with Libya. With all its so-called anti-imperialist stances and politics. After all, over all the recent, post-revolutionary decades it has turned into the country which has most actively supported international terrorism, political banditism. And thus, a country with such a—let us not mince words—odious foreign policy met with support from us.

What is more, note that the country was never 100 percent our friend. You see, besides anti-imperialism, another tenet, as it were, on which Libyan foreign poilcy was based and continues to be based is anticommunism. They have never hidden this. But we somehow ignored...

[Podolnaya] Turned a blind eye to this.

[Fesunenko] ...turned a blind eye, ignored this. The foes of America are our friends. And this is how all our foreign policy course was constructed with regard to these Arab states. And thus, for this very reason, it has turned out that Iraq, which purchased a profusion of arms from us, Libya, which has been literally 100 percent armed by us, Yemen—we also delivered a lot of arms there, especially to South Yemen. Now South and North Yemen has united in one state. Well,...

[Podolnaya, interrupting] Well, of course, we have not been holding an idle conversation, but it seems to me that the subject which has been raised deserves attention.

[Fesunenko] The lessons of our relations with Libya, with Iraq, and with many other countries of the so-called Third World demonstrate that one must never build a policy just on the basis of naked material advantage. In obtaining dollars, sooner or later we loos out on something immeasurably greater.

One must take a broader perspective. Anyway, why should we arm and provide all kinds of support to dictators, be it in Africa, be it in the Arabian East, but it in latin America, or wherever it may be, just on the basis of the fact that they are proclaiming anti-imperialist slogans. The essence of the regime remains the same. In the final analysis, proceeding from our current outlook today, as it were, we must, are obliged, to recognize the right of each people to choose its course. And no one has the right to inflict his stance, his outlook, his viewpoint on other people.

[Podolnaya] Thank you.

East Europe

Gorbachev To Make 'Symbolic' Visit to Berlin

LD0509145290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1436 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to a report by GDR radio today, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev will visit Berlin at the beginning of October. As the GDR radio correspondent reports from the Soviet capital, citing well-informed sources, Gorbachev plans to end the postwar era with a symbolic handshake with U.S. President Bush at the Brandenburg Gate.

Economic Accord With Czechoslovakia Signed

PM0609092390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent L. Kornilov: "Soviet-Czechoslovak Trade Treaty Signed: According to World Market Prices"]

[Text] Prague—Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union are the first among the CEMA members switching over to a market mechanism (excluding the GDR) to conclude a treaty which transfers their bilateral trade relations to the new conditions. This took place at Zbraslav Castle, near Prague. The document was signed for the Czechoslovak side by V. Vales, deputy prime minister of the CSFR government, and for the Soviet side by K. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations.

From 1 January 1991 commercial settlements between the two countries will be carried out according to current world market prices and payments made in freely convertible currency. This is the first, one may say crucial step in switching bilateral ties to the conditions of the world economy.

At their joint news conference Vales and Katushev described the signed agreement as very important.

"Czechoslovakia is a major trading partner for the USSR and vice versa," K. Katushev said. "This year the volume of our commodity turnover will amount to 11 billion rubles. Machinery and equipment account for 59 percent of Czechoslovak exports to the Soviet Union. Soviet exports to this country consist of raw materials, fuel, metal, and construction materials. And both sides have a vital interest in this two-way traffic. The treaty enhances this interest, the point of which is to maintain the exchange of competitive goods at the level achieved. The same conditions are set for our producers in their mutual relations as in trade with the West, since in both cases freely convertible currency serves as the means of payment and settlement."

Journalists also asked about the new features of Czechoslovak-Soviet trade created by the new role of the republics and enterprises. Literally days prior to this, in the same Zbraslav Castle, G. Filshin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, had signed with V. Vales a memorandum on the basic principles of economic and trade ties between Czechoslovakia and Russia for the post-1990 period. This is how the CSFR deputy prime minister assessed this event:

"The memorandum is beneficial to both sides. It affords Czechoslovakia the opportunity to receive the volumes of raw materials it requires in exchange for our finished products and to carry out economic reforms without undue upheaval. In particular, we will be able start talks

with the Tyumen Oblast on the reciprocal supply of oil and Czechoslovak goods before the year is out."

K. Katushev and V. Vales confirmed the fact that the total volume of Soviet-Czechoslovak trade will be divided into the part sold, on the one hand, through the center (so-called indicative lists) and, on the other, the part sold by republics and enterprises on their own. Here the Soviet minister considers that the "center" will account for around half the commodity turnover, whereas Vales commented: "We think it will come to around 20 percent."

An accord on the actual range and volume of goods will be elaborated in the next two months. The Soviet side has agreed that in the initial period the CSFR will be able to pay for the raw materials it receives by making use of the positive balance it enjoys with the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet market is becoming a world market for us with equivalent price conditions," V. Vales stressed "But with greater opportunities, since we feel at home there, so to speak."

Soviet journalists asked whether it was envisaged, in particular, that the center obtain payment for supplies of Soviet oil (and ore and gas) by increasing imports of meat and other foodstuffs from Czechoslovakia. (A hint of this was contained, for example, in the article "What To Do With the Beef?", IZVESTIYA No. 220). Unfortunately, all they learned from the Soviet minister's answer is that food products account for a little over 1 percent of imports from the CSFR, while the figure for exports from the USSR is 0.3 percent.

As K. Katushev stated in conclusion, the signing of similar treaties with other CEMA countries is under preparation.

Bovin Welcomes Albanian Wish for Improved Ties

PM0609163090 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 35, 9-16 Sep 90 p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA political analyst Aleksandr Bovin: "The Door to Tirana Opens"]

[Text] There is a rumour in Moscow that the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs has announced a vacancy: the post of the USSR Ambassador in Albania. Applicants for the vacancy must know Russian and preferably Albanian too. CPSU functionaries are asked not to bother to apply.

Does it mean that "the wind returns full circle"? Of course not. The world has changed, and so have we. Even little Albania, which for so long tried to oppose the tide of time and change, is also being transformed.

When a prolonged feud takes a new turn towards reconciliation and the restoration of relations, politicians and diplomats (especially from the side which initiated the conflict) often say: let's make a new start. And this is often quite sensible from the point of view of current politics. But if taken in terms of political strategy, it has to be remembered that history knows no clean pages: it is always hard to make correct decisions about the future without first sorting out past affairs.

Let's turn to the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. It says that the PSRA is a "country of the dictatorship of the proletariat" which is maintained by "the unity of the people around the Albanian Party of Labour". In its turn, the party is "the sole leading political force in the state and society". In line with this, socialism is being developed proceeding from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the country's "ruling ideology".

It would be pointless to comment on these formulas. We know only too well what stands behind such words, from our own experience. The stalinism grafted onto Albania produced equally bitter fruits.

True, Albania has turned into a different country in the postwar years. It has built up its industry and developed agriculture. Education and medical care became accessible to all. Living standards have gone up both in urban and rural areas. Generally speaking, people began to live better. It is enough to say that life expectancy has gone up from 38 to 69 years.

However, progress was due to the simple extension of production and this took its toll. What was the result?

Low efficiency of work. Low quality of production. A widening gap between Albania's scientific and technological progress and that of the rest of the world. Rigid centralized planning. An incompetent bureaucratic machine. A repressive political regime intolerant of dissent, democracy and openness. Characteristically: the country's Constitution bans all religions. "Albanians' only religion is Albanism," taught Enver Hoxha.

Since Albania's break with China which, according to Tirana, "turned into a rampart of international counter-revolutionary imperialism", the world has had only one socialist country (according to Tirana): Albania. Hence the Albanian rulers' sharply negative and hostile attitude towards Soviet perestroika.

That used to be the case. But it seems that things have changed. The dramatic developments in Romania have quickened the pact of change. The Ministry of Justice was established. Freedom of religious conscience was granted. Albanians got the right to travel abroad. Greater independence was given to enterprises. Private economic initiative was legalized for the production of handicrafts and in the service industries. Foreign investment was allowed. Albania joined the Helsinki process.

Speaking at the plenary meeting of the Albanian Party of Labour Central Committee, Ramiz Alia announced that Albania wishes to improve its relations with the USSR and the USA.

As a reminder, the break between the USSR and Albania occurred in the early 1960s. It was caused, on the one

hand, by the Albanian leadership's stubborn refusal to draw conclusions from the rethinking as regards Stalinism, and, on the other hand, by the Moscow leadership's great-power attitude. Later, Moscow tried several times to normalize its relations with Tirana but each time met with a resolute refusal. Still, common sense prevails. The door to Tirana is open. The door to Moscow has been open for quite some time. The latest development is in the interest of both states and in concord with the spirit of the times.

West Europe

Tourism Protocol Signed With Turkey

TA0509113290 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1050 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Batum (A.A.)—A protocol has been signed here between Turkish and Soviet tourism officials. It calls for increased cooperation between the two countries.

The officials say the existing conditions at the Sarp border gate between the two countries have an adverse affect on bilateral tourism relations and they plan to ask their respective governments to improve these conditions.

AA's correspondent here reports that a seminar "Turkish-Soviet Cooperation in Tourism" involving the Turkish-Soviet business council, the Tourism Investors Association (TYD) and the Soviet Union's State Foreign Tourism Committee (Intourist) has ended.

The seminar was the last in a series held in the Soviet cities of Moscow, Yalta, Soci, Tblisi and Batum.

A protocol produced at the end of the seminar calls for cooperation between the two countries in the following areas:

—an initiative to the Turkish and Soviet Governments to take urgent measures at the Sarp gate, development of joint hotels,
—use of Turkish bus companies in joint tourist ventures,
—construction and renewal of hotels at various Soviet resorts,
—consortia and partnerships in management, consultancy services and engineering work on joint hotel construction,
—drawing up an inventory of available hotels, construction and repair needs and hotel and kitchen equipment,
—training of tourist personnel,
—joint tours in both countries
—marketing projects related to the "silk way" to third countries,
—tourist activities in local currencies with the support of local banks.

Sitaryan Ends Talks in FRG on Bilateral Ties

LD0609174290 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Serov]

[Text] Bonn September 6 TASS—Soviet-West German talks between September 3-6 here discussed bilateral economic cooperation in the new conditions resulting from progressing German reunification.

The talks involved a Soviet delegation led by Deputy Prime Minister Stepan Sitaryan and West German ministers Helmut Haussmann of economics and Theodor Waigel of finance.

The negotiations were held with due regard for existing commercial and economic relations between the Soviet Union and East Germany and their high significance to the Soviet and German economies. The new conditions, however, require new approaches and mechanisms for maintaining these contacts.

The intensive discussions made it possible to near completion of a treaty on long-term and large-scale economic, trade, scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and West Germany. It will not only consolidate but also broaden the legal basis for furthering this cooperation. Both sides recognised the principle of continuity of all commercial and economic commitments between the USSR and East Germany.

Talks were also held on a draft bilateral agreement on transitional measures, which calls for Soviet-West German cooperation in dealing with a number of economic and financial problems during the transition to a united Germany, in particular those connected with the phased withdrawal of Soviet troops from German territory.

The two sides agreed on a programme of joint work to finalise both documents and develop bilateral economic relations.

Lukyanov Receives Austrian Parliamentarians

PM0609153190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Expanding Cooperation"]

[Text] On 5 September A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received the Austrian parliamentary delegation headed by R. Poeder, first chairman of the National Council, which is on an official visit to the Soviet Union.

A.I. Lukyanov told the Austrian parliamentarians about the vast legislative program that the USSR Supreme Soviet will have to fulfill, partly in connection with the Soviet economy's transition to regulated market relations. The guests where also briefed on the state of nationalities relations in the USSR and the progress of work to prepare the new Union treaty.

R. Poeder and the other Austrian representatives elucidated questions of the activity of their country's parliament and expressed readiness to exchange experience with their Soviet counterparts.

Both sides particularly stressed the importance of further developing interparliamentary ties, diversifying them, and filling them with specific content with a view to expanding and deepening Soviet-Austrian cooperation in various spheres.

A number of urgent problems of international policy were examined and the positive role of parliaments in strengthening the CSCE process and improving the international situation on the European Continent and in the world as a whole was noted.

The conversation was held in an open and friendly atmosphere.

New Ambassador Appointed to Austria

PM0609155590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "Chronicle"]

[Text] The USSR president has appoined Valeriy Nikolayevich Popov as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Austria.

Swiss Delegation Concludes Official Visit

LD3109214190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 31 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A delegation of the Federal Assembly of the Swiss Confederation has left Moscow. It was headed by Ruffy, president of the Federal Assembly and National Council. The guests had been on an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet. At a news conference, the Swiss parliamentarians summed up the results of their trip and the conversations and meetings they had held with their Soviet counterparts. It was noted that the present visit would serve to strengthen and develop Soviet-Swiss relations and would promote the cause of friendship between our peoples.

Italian Premier Gives Gorbachev Leadership Award

LD0609175690 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleskandr Tarakanov]

[Text] Rome September 6 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev has been awarded here an award for exemplary leadership.

The "Fiuggi international prize 1990" goes to the Soviet president "as a person whose political and social activities are an example to emulate in affirming human rights", the general council of the Fiuggi Foundation said in its announcement.

Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, who is council president, said that the jury, including eminent politicians, public figures, business people, scholars and cultural personalities, chose Gorbachev for the award without hesitation.

"Under Gorbachev, the Soviet Union has overhauled its domestic and foreign policies and facilitated change for the better in the world," he said.

The Soviet new thinking, Andreotti continued, has made it possible to improve East-West dialogue in a very short time, as some problems, previously considered insurmountable, began to be quickly resolved.

This also applies to human rights in the political, social and cultural fields, he said.

Lukyanov Receives Netherlands Delegation

LD0609200890 Moscow TASS in English 1913 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Lukyanov received in the Kremlin today a delegation of the general states of the Netherlands, led by chairman of the second chamber Wim Deetman, which is on an official visit in this country.

Lukyanov told the delegation about profound transformations in the political, economic and cultural spheres of Soviet society and the main directions of the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which in the present conditions plays the part of one of the main levers in the solution of problems facing the country. When discussing international problems, the sides stressed the importance of the all-European process as the most promising and reliable channel of ensuring stability on the continent and the world in general. The sides also pointed to the key role to be played by the forthcoming summit.

Wim Deetman and other members of the delegation spoke about the experience of the Dutch Parliament and set forth their understanding of the main international problems.

Both sides expressed concern over the crisis situation in the Gulf area following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and stressed the need for a political settlement of the conflict on the basis of strict observance of the norms and standards of international law.

They discussed in the atmosphere of mutual understanding some topical issues dealing with Soviet-Dutch relations, primarily the development and deepening of parliamentary contacts.

Latin America & Caribbean

Commentaries on Plight of Cuban Economy

'Even Harder Times' in Store

PM0409102190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 90 p 3

[Article by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent A. Novikov: "Turn Off the Lights. Cuba Introduces 'State of Emergency' in Peacetime"]

[Excerpts] The clouds started gathering about 20 days ago: Scheduled flights were being canceled at Jose Marti Airport due to shortages of aviation fuel, while crazy lines were forming at gas stations which still had gasoline to sell. I recently counted about 200 vehicles at one such line—estimated waiting time was running no longer in hours but in days. It was only natural that people would talk of nothing but the impending "emergency."

These rumors were fully confirmed 29 August, when the press published an official government announcement about the situation prevailing in the country and the planned measures. Its essence was that an emergency situation has developed in the country due to a shortfall of two million tonnes in oil deliveries to Cuba and that a series of emergency measures are necessary to remedy the situation.

What is the cause of this misfortune? This becomes clear from the very first words of the statement: "It is well known that the Soviet Union has encountered difficulties in delivering basic commodities to us...." This idea runs through the entire document, being repeated persistently and constantly. [passage omitted] The two final sentences appear as a logical conclusion from everything that has been said: "Everything that is happening now forces our country to switch from normal life to an emergency period in peacetime. It is necessary to be prepared for this."

The impression that readers should gain from this document is perfectly clear. The Soviet Union—whether deliberately or not—is wrecking deliveries of most important commodities to Cuba, thus further aggravating the economic situation in the country. The Cuban Government, in contrast, is making all efforts to ease the situation and somehow make life easier for ordinary Cubans.

It must be said that the situation is familiar enough: An almost identical situation developed last January, when there was an insignificant delay with deliveries of Soviet grain to Cuba. At that time the Cuban authorities—to put it bluntly—laid it on rather thick and announced that an emergency situation prevailed in the country. Bread rations were reduced. And even though ships with the missing grain entered Cuban ports literally a few days later, all those "temporary measures" are still in force.

Regarding the fuel crisis, it has become known from reliable sources that the Cuban Government has already examined its options for overcoming it. The first option envisaged restrictions on the consumption of electricity by the population. A schedule was even drawn up for alternating power supply cuts all over the country, right down to individual districts in major cities. Unwilling to upset people, however, they decided not to publish it yet, sticking for the time being to the second option contained in the government's aforementioned statement. [passage omitted]

Everything would seem to be understandable: The Cuban economy's advancing disease has not been a secret for anyone for a long time now, nor has been the fact that Cuba's leadership announced many months ago the possibility of introducing an "emergency" when the country will have to tighten its belt to the utmost. However, there is just one "but" in this entire oil story.

First, according to perfectly reliable Soviet sources in Cuba, the shortfall in our deliveries of oil products to Cuba as of today is not two million tonnes, as the Cuban authorities' statement claims, but at least 3.5 times less—approximately 580,000 tonnes. Second—and this is the main point—during the first eight months of this year the oil products delivered by the USSR to Cuba were 100,000 tonnes more than during the same period last year. Please excuse the boring arithmetic, but it does raise a large question mark: It appears that, as of 1 September last year, Cuba had less (!) Soviet oil than now, but the economy was functioning and there was no talk at all about any "emergency period."

So, what happened to the oil? Journalists have failed to obtain an answer to this question. One can only guess: Either the oil supplied by us has been sold to third parties in exchange for foreign currency, or Cuba's government has decided to create raw material reserves in anticipation of even harder times.

Nobody doubts that they are coming. Leaders' speeches and the press constantly promote the idea that the main difficulties are yet to come. [passage omitted]

Nonetheless, according to local television, the Cuban people are full of optimism and are prepared to make further sacrifices if required by the interests of the revolution. At least five or six passersby, questioned by television journalists right in the street, expressed unanimous support for and approval of the latest measures taken by the country's government.

Reasons for Shortages Explored

PM0609104590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by A. Kamorin: "Seeking a Reason: Acute Fuel Shortage in Cuba"]

[Text] Havana—The first to experience the effect of hardship were the passengers who were forced to change their plans and itineraries because of the shortage of fuel

at Havana's airports and the Cuban motorists waiting in lines kilometers long around Havana's gas stations. At one of those stations I heard a term redolent of the intense heat on the islands these days—"oil starvation...."

While talking with some of the people in "temporary residence" in the gasoline lines, I frequently heard comments which, while not exactly hostile, were nevertheless very critical of our country, which for many years has been supplying Cuba with fuel. The complaints boiled down to this: "We try our best for you, but you...."

A similar note was sounded in the message which the Cuban authorities issued to the population on Wednesday about the first symptoms of the "oil starvation." It begins with the words: "As is well known, the Soviet Union has met with difficulties in supplying us with the petroleum products which we have traditionally received from that fraternal country and whose significance for our economy and population is crucial. We appreciate the Soviet government's efforts to avoid disrupting supplies. For our part we have met and will try to continue meeting our export commitments toward the USSR, for which we have had to make exceptional efforts."

The message lists fuel-saving measures that are to be introduced immediately. The supply of fuel for state sector transport and truck owners is being halved. From October, the gasoline quota for private cars, currently 240 liters a quarter, is being cut by 30 percent. Other measures include a reduction of investments for this year in construction materials production. It has been decided not to commission the first stage of the oil refinery in Cienfuegos and to halt production at the Punta Gorda nickel plant. Both these enterprises were built with the USSR's technical assistance, significant groups of specialists from our country work there (around 370 people), and three-fourths of the Punta Gorda combine's production is earmarked for the Soviet Union.

Every Cuban family will now have to cut its electricity consumption by 10 percent compared with the average figures for the first half year. Those who break this rule will be punished by having their electric light cut off for one month. On the other hand, to reduce fuel consumption the system whereby every other Saturday was a working day is to be abolished. Now Cubans will have two days off permanently while retaining their old rate of pay. This is undoubtedly a pleasant measure, but economists fear that it may put inflationary pressure on the republic's economy.

It has to be said that the authorities addressed the population promptly: Rumors were already circulating around Havana, each one gloomier than the one before. Now the situation has been clarified, even though to the overparticular observer this document also raises some questions.

The main one concerns the assertion that the shortfall in Soviet fuel supplies to Cuba this year is almost two million tonnes. This is highly significant if you bear in mind that the Soviet Union is due to sell Cuba 13.4 million tonnes. In the experience of trade between us, shortfalls on one side or the other are nothing new. For example, at present the Cuban side owes us 332,000 tonnes of sugar and 1,500 tonnes of nickel. The Soviet side's fuel shortfall is also a fact, due to many internal factors in our country. However, according to the Soviet supply schedule, our debt is approximately 580,000 tonnes. Clearly, we have different systems of accounting.

But this is not the essential point. According to the statistics, if you compare Soviet supplies this year and last, by the end of August we had supplied the island with an extra 100,000 tonnes, which guarantees that the island's existing oil refineries are working to full capacity.

So what caused the "starvation" symptoms? Has consumption increased sharply? Possibly. But there are other suggestions. In the past Cuba regularly re-exported goods, selling oil on the world market for freely convertible currency, which the republic acutely lacks. This year there have been no reports of such operations. Most likely there has been no re-export, but if there had the information on these exchanges could do much to clarify the situation. The possibility that the island has created considerable reserves "for a rainy day" cannot be ruled out either.

Cubans I spoke to also gave an account according to which the present measures are more preventive in nature. The Cuban leadership is beginning to prepare the population for future deficits in case the Soviet domestic economic problems are not cleared up soon. This is a realistic view of things, because it is not just a question of oil. The shortage of foreign currency in the USSR, in particular, is already beginning to create difficulties for future supplies of food goods which we traditionally buy for Cuba in other countries.

The address to the Cubans stresses that the country is nearing the point at which a "special period in peace time" begins.

Cuban Figures on Angola Withdrawal Cited

PM0609150190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Cubans Withdrawing from Angola"]

[Text] Havana, 3 Sep—As of 31 August this year 37,136 Cuban officers and men had returned home from Angola. These are the official figures cited in the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR] Ministry report issued here Sunday. The document points out that 2,041 servicemen returned to Cuba from the African country last month.

The FAR Ministry report notes that the process of withdrawing Cuban internationalist servicemen from Angola is proceeding under the supervision of a UN observer mission. It is being carried out in accord with the agreements on a settlement in southwest Africa signed by the Cuban and Angolan Governments in December 1988.

Political Consultations Held in Venezuela

LD0109105790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0303 GMT 1 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Globa]

[Text] Caracas, 1 Sep (TASS)—Soviet-Venezuelan political consultations on issues relating to the agenda for the 45th session of the UN General Assembly, the problems of a settlement in Central America, and prospects for the development of bilateral relations were held here on 30-31 August.

Taking part in them were, on the Soviet side, Ya.A. Burlyay, special representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and on the Venezuelan side, A.R. Taylhardat, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

In the course of consultations special attention was paid to the problems of globalizing the disarmament process, the creation of favorable conditions for achieving a stable and just peace in Central America, and issues relating to the restructuring of international economic relations.

The coincidence of the positions of the USSR and Venezuela on the absolute majority of the problems that were discussed was stressed. The sides spoke in favor of continuing political consultations and making the mutually beneficial cooperation in international organizations more active.

The consultations were held in a warm and cordial atmosphere.

Supreme Soviet

Supreme Soviet Personnel Changed, Agenda Viewed

PM0609102390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by parliamentary correspondent A. Stepovoy: "Parliamentary Recess Over"]

[Text] The standing bodies of the country's Supreme Soviet have started work after the parliamentary summer recess. On 3 September the members of the Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management gathered for their first sitting. During the roll call it became clear that several people's deputies had left the committee for various reasons, while two—M. Mendybayev from Kazakhstan and Yu. Neyelov from Surgut—had become full members. Right away three chairmen of subcommittees of the standing body asked to be relieved of their duties and new subcommittee chairmen were elected: V. Prokushev, self-management matters; V. Karasev, methodology; N. Kiriyak, soviets' work.

Committee Chairman N. Pivovarov reported on the preliminary agenda for the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and organization of the committee's work. The USSR people's deputies have a great deal of crucial work ahead of them for they will be examining three large groups of questions: the market economy, the Union treaty, the country's plan and budget for 1991, as well as a number of other draft laws.

N. Pivovarov expressed anxiety because many laws adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet are not operating. Why is that? It is primarily due to the lack of a mechanism for putting the laws into day-to-day practice. But it could also be mentioned that the country's legislative acts are actually being ignored at republic, kray, oblast, and rayon level. Obviously this state of affairs does not bode well for the future. Therefore the upcoming session of the country's Supreme Soviet has a lot of work to do to establish an effective mechanism for introducing adopted laws.

There was a wide-ranging debate about the order of the agenda at the fourth session. Some deputies talked about the need to start the session's work by discussing the economic package of draft laws, but above all to decide for themselves which to opt for—the government draft or the draft elaborated by Academician Shatalin's group? Other committee members tried to tell their colleagues that this cannot be done until the Union Treaty is adopted. There were also demands for the next session to start with the question of confidence in the government headed by N. Ryzhkov. Some deputies would like the USSR President to give an account of or briefing on the politico-economic situation in the country. That was the range of opinion on the question: Where should the fourth session of the country's parliament start?

But it soon emerged that the wish of a number of deputies to begin the session with a discussion of the economic package of laws was highly problematical, to say the least. None of them is familiar as yet with the content of the concepts for the economic programs to be presented at the session. You must not tarry and you cannot hurry, so to speak. But that is the situation the deputies actually find themselves in a matter of days before the opening of the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Then the members of the Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management turned their attention to a purely committee matter: the work practice of Union and autonomous republics' Supreme Soviets as well as local soviets in implementing the USSR Law on the General Principles of Local Self-Management and Local Economy in the USSR. The discussion will last two days. Deputies who have been in the provinces were unanimous that the law is hardly operating at all. Many leaders of soviets are expecting further clarification, special instructions, and detailed commentary on it. Others are waiting for a similar republic law to be adopted. But there are many too who are completely out of touch. Needless to say, the situation is very worrying. It is time to adopt plans and approve budgets for next year, but practically nothing is definite at the moment although, as was stressed at the sitting, the Law on the General Principles of Local Self-Management and Local Economy in the USSR does indeed present tremendous opportunities for independent decisionmaking, initiative, and a creative approach to various local problems. But the inertia of the foundations and habits of the command-and-administer system must be great if yet another, additional verdict is needed on the freedom that has been granted. As for time, what does time mean? Millions of people with hundreds of vital problems are waiting for the new soviets to act. But alas, there has been no action yet.

Political & Social

Union Authority Defended Over Republic

90UN2671B Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Commentary by Yu.K. Sharipov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Commission on Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics, reported by S. Karkhanin]

[Text] The problems set forth in the declaration of a group of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies are not being sounded for the first time and are directly related to the problems of republic sovereignty and preparation of a new Union treaty. As a member of a working group of the USSR Supreme Soviet participating in consultations with

authorized representatives of the republics on the concept of a future treaty, I have pondered a great deal on these matters. The deputies' letter presents yet another occasion for reflection.

What is hidden behind the rather chilly and not always clear judicial formulations of the letter? Chiefly we see accusations directed toward the USSR president and Union organs which are supposedly exceeding their authority. I must state, however, that everything done by the president is lawful and in conformance with the USSR Constitution. There are no violations. A number of documents have been ratified recently in the republics, however without prior authorization which contradict Union legislation. The idea of priority of republic laws over Union laws is advanced as their basis. Yet there is not a single all-Union legislative act in which such priority is established.

In principle, the RSFSR people's deputies are posing a truly pressing question, but it runs counter to existing legislation. It is a curious thing that the authors of the declaration are chiefly legal experts, but i would say they are leading the voters astray in a certain fashion because, I will repeat again, the president is functioning strictly within the framework of existing legislation to which all are obligated to subordinate themselves until it is revised. Speaking of building a rule-of-law state, we cannot without prior authorization ratify documents which contradict the law. And most certainly, we cannot call for people to refrain from executing the provisions of presidential ukases adopted within the framework of his rights as determined by the Constitution.

In the opinion of the deputies, if certain legal norms have become antiquated, they should be revised only in accordance with legal procedure.

Concerning the sale by Union departments of Russian gold, platinum, etc., I as a Russian agree that this is the property of the RSFSR. On the other hand, however, the Russian Federation does not as yet have its own law on ownership. True the president of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, B.N. Yeltsin, while meeting a few days ago with Ufa residents assured them that such a law would be adopted at the next session and that private ownership of land would most likely be revived in Russia.... But whatever may come, for the time being the sale of resources is regulated by resolutions of the Union government, and the Russian government has not yet ratified its own documents.

With regard to the position of the authors of the declaration on the right of the president to introduce a state of emergency in the republics, I would say that anyone taking it upon himself to render judgment on interethnic conflicts should first have been where the conflicts took place. By direction of the Soviet of Nationalities I was in Novyy Uzen and Osh Oblast, and I am convinced that the people there requested help from Moscow itself and not from local authorities. The actions of troops and specialists from Union departments enabled hundreds if not thousands of lives to be saved. In the regions where bloodletting is taking place, people are counting on none other than the center to restore order.

In general, the letter of the Russian deputies confirms once again how important the role of a future Union treaty will be—it will permit practically all the problems cited in the declaration to be solved through legal procedure. Our consultations in the Kremlin regarding the concept of the document are going ahead at full speed, and I would like to talk about them. Naturally I am expressing only my personal point of view.

Each republic presented for discussion its thoughts on the concept of a new Union treaty. I am not referring to written drafts here—RSFSR representatives, for example, did not present documents.

I would like to especially emphasize one thing. The Union treaty is not a treaty between Union republics and the center, but rather a treaty of the republics among themselves, among the entities of our community. It is not surprising that opinions being voiced are quite diverse. Meetings are conducted in accordance with a schedule. It is often asked: Why is it the representatives of Russia were the first ones to be invited for consultations? The answer is simple: The Russian Federation turned out to be better prepared than the others for such a dialogue.

As I am aware, not all participants in the consultations are satisfied with their progress. But one must take into account that the level of dialogue depends on the degree of preparedness for it. And this was not always adequate. As a USSR people's deputy from Bashkiriya I was interested in learning from the RSFSR representatives at our meeting whether or not they had consulted with their autonomous formations regarding their ideas and proposals. No one consulted with Bashkiriya, I must say.... And many of my countrymen are not happy with the fact that the new leadership of the Russian Federation, while establishing contacts and ties with other republics—the Baltic republics for example—for some reason pay no attention to the peoples of the autonomous formations. True, in the sake of fairness it must be said that soon after our meeting representatives of the Russian authorities came to us in the Bashkir and Tatar regions.

The procedure followed in our consultations is entirely democratic—no one pressures anyone else and no one foists anything upon anyone else. Our working group listens attentively to representatives of the republics and, if they are interested in our advice, we give it.

A basic problem is that of demarcation of jurisdiction—what issues are to be delegated by the republics to the center. The following specific position was expressed: that four areas be conveyed to the center, namely environmental protection, defense, state security, and atomic energy. This is the position of the RSFSR representatives. Kirghizia has another approach, its emissaries identifying a broader sphere of issues relating in their

view to the exclusive competence of the Union, adding for example management of pipelines, transportation, and energy.

The divergence, even quantitatively speaking, is quite large. It is proposed that from four to 14 issues be transferred exclusively to the center. I personally believe that not less than eight to ten points should be so affixed in a new Union treaty. If there turn out to be fewer than this, the Union will hardly be able to exist as a Union. And differences in approaches among the republics, it seems to me, can be reflected in appendices to the treaty.

The work we face is complex, but it is apparent that as early as September the basic outlines of the treaty will be defined, and the document must be ratified this year. The fact of the matter is that we require decisions which will enable a normalization of economic life. For the main portion of the treaty concerns economic problems. Without it, we will not succeed in creating an all-Union market. It must be advantageous for the republics to exist within the composition of the Union. In my opinion, the republics that enter into our all-Union market as defined by the new treaty will obtain guaranteed opportunities to market their products. And this is no small matter, especially when we take into account the fact that sometimes our republics produce items that no one in the world desires to purchase....

Our Bashkiriya is already establishing direct economic ties with Estonia. Horizontal economic contacts in general are being arranged between many regions. And insofar as a Union treaty will be signed by the republics, these ties will acquire a legal basis. Here is the answer to the question which was posed at our meeting with RSFSR representatives—why in principle is a Union treaty necessary, if even without it republics are structuring horizontal ties with one another? But were we to use such logic we could also doubt the necessity of the USSR Constitution! And on another matter raised at that same meeting, also a rhetorical one in my view: What is the center if it possesses neither its own land nor its own resources? This question could be readdressed to the Russian authorities themselves: What is the RSFSR if it has territorial and autonomous formations which possess their own property? Generally speaking, we could play around with words ad infinitum, but it is clear that a Union treaty is needed.

The republics will agree among themselves what rights they will delegate to the center—this is how jurisdiction will be demarcated. The same applies to laws. The Union, evidently, will receive only the bases for legislation. And part of the future USSR Constitution will comprise in fact the Union treaty. It is clear that universal popular discussion of its draft version will be required. How will this take place? The republics will decide for themselves. After all, it is being born there in the republics, and not in Moscow offices.

I would like to stress an important aspect. I believe that in drawing up this document, the autonomous formations must play a role not less than that of the Union republics. Representatives of the Tatar, Udmurt, Buryat, and other regions must sit side by side at the consultations with representatives of the Russian authority. It seems to me that, sooner or later, Union and autonomous republics will be equalized in their rights. And encroachment upon autonomy today is not to be tolerated. This applies to okrugs and oblasts as well. There must not be "big" and "little" brothers.

'Old Principles' Still Said To Dominate CPSU

PM0609093390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[Open letter to PRAVDA from 28th CPSU Congress delegate A. Kozlov: "Time to Draw Conclusions"]

[Text] I was prompted to write in by the presidential decree appointing as a member of the Presidential Council someone who had essentially been rejected by the delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress for his "fruitful" state and political activity in the Politburo during the perestroyka years. Yes, the president is entitled to shape his own council, but he should not fail to see or heed public opinion. In this way, whether we like it or not, we lose the already undermined confidence in party organs and in the party itself. And in shaping the CPSU's leading organs the party leadership demonstrated the vitality of old principles and approaches.

The principle remains the same: "We have consulted and I have decided." That was the case, as I recall, with the election for the post of the first deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, as it was with the election of certain Central Committee members. Yet at the party congress we saw really young potential leaders. So why, when we call for worthy people to be sought out, do we continue to travel well-trodden paths? What is going on? A part may have been played here by the timidity if not the calculation of certain alternative candidate leaders who, fearing to lose their places in the future political and state system, could not drum up the courage to struggle for a place in the party so as to bring about real transformations in it at this exceptionally difficult time for us.

In general, the principle of the election of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee is clearly incomplete. All the congress delegates voted blind for the candidates—with the exception of two or three people whom they would know personally. What could I have known, for instance, about a kolkhoz [collective farm] chairman from the Karelian ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], a dock worker from Leningrad, a tractor driver from Turkmenia, a director from Magadan, and so forth? People may say it is too late to be thinking like this. But we need to draw conclusions for the future. The shaping of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission should be transferred to local level on a quota basis. Once candidates are

elected then the congress, in accordance with the conclusions of the Credentials Commission, can ratify them or take cognizance of them. And in fact we would have to examine only the list of candidates proposed by party leading organs. Obviously this approach would be expedient in shaping elective organs in Union and autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, and rayons too.

I see these specific examples as the key to understanding why at postcongress meetings Communists and nonparty people turned on us congress delegates, accusing us of a lack of principle in resolving many issues and problems discussed by party forums.

Here are just a few of the remarks made at the meetings. Despite the fact that the speeches and appeals by congress delegates repeatedly raised the question of the names and responsibility of the authors of the failed pseudoreforms which have done immense material and moral damage to the country, Communists received no satisfactory reply either in the report or in the speeches by former Politburo members. Isn't this irresponsibility one of the reasons why laws are not working in the country today—including those laws recently produced by congresses of people's deputies and the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]? And who can give any guarantee in this situation that unviable laws will continue to be adopted and pseudoreforms will continue to be carried out?

I cannot fail to express my impressions of the statement read out at the congress by B.N. Yeltsin about his resignation from the CPSU. Perhaps it is excusable for me, an ordinary party member, to take such a step; but not a major statesman and political leader. I do not consider this step to have been wise or well-considered.

Many leaders are today forgetting that, having obtained considerable power and position, they should not bite the hand that has fed them for so long. Of course it is easy to win popularity with a stream of rancor and calls for the past to be denounced and the present to be dismantled, but today we need specific action in all spheres—and that is what we have been lacking so far.

One last point. The country is seething, it is being stifled by the unstable position in the economy, politics, and social life. Our state and party leaders must demonstrate political wisdom and high civic responsibility in assessing the sociopolitical situation and with regard to each other. We talk about consolidating all forces for the sake of the common cause—the revival of the country—but we often do the reverse. I would not be surprised if in the very near future a situation emerges whereby issues between republics, individual regions, and cities on the one hand, and the country as a whole on the other are decided through some kind of outside intermediary. It is probably time for all of us to have a second thought. Having been entrusted with the people's confidence, we are simply obliged to justify it and work out balanced and constructive solutions at all levels for the sake of peace, harmony, and the enhancement of Soviet people's living standards.

I fear that if the party's new central elective organs and party committees locally fail to draw conclusions from the proposals made by delegates and millions of Communists about accelerating perestroyka in the party and society, today's thesis that "we should not live this way" could have a quite different logical conclusion.

I am not sure—though I would very much like it to be the case—that this letter will be published owing to the rather categorical nature of my assessments and conclusions. But I would ask readers to understand that the issues raised here and other problems concern many people. I think it would be 100 times worse to keep quiet about them and just hear out the complaints and rebukes without being able to give people a specific answer.

A great deal today will depend on the honest and open position of everyone who really feels for the fate of the CPSU. We need to see discussions about unresolved problems and our mistakes on the pages of the party press. It will help us to learn lessons and draw conclusions that can be understood by the people in our practical work.

[Signed] A. Kozlov, secretary of the Internal Affairs Administration party committee and delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress. Yaroslavl.

Yelena Bonner Views Anti-Semitism in USSR

AU0709093090 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 6 Sep 90 pp 26-27

[Interview with Yelena Bonner by NOVOSTI correspondent Sergey Zaytsev; place and date not given: "Gorbachev Does Not Comment on Anti-Semitism"]

[Text] [Zaytsev] There have been a lot of reports recently about increasing anti-Semitism in the USSR? Are these reports correct?

[Bonner] It is very difficult to specify the increase in anti-Semitism. It has always existed in our country, it exists today, and in all probability it will also exist in the future. But today it is not the extent but the quality of anti-Semitism that has changed. I am very concerned about the creation and development of National Socialist ideology in our country. But I do not regard the "Pamyat" society and other "aggressive-patriotic" movements as an expression of general anti-Semitism.

[Zaytsev] What else?

[Bonner] I regard all this as the result of the specific organizational activities of people who are taking advantage of the difficult situation in the country. We know from history that National Socialism consolidated its position precisely in times of political and economic crisis.

[Zaytsev] And you are, of course, worried about this?

[Bonner] I am very worried about the fact that not even the higher authorities vigorously check the anti-Semitic comments and virulent activities of "Pamyat".

[Zaytsev] Can one proceed on the assumption that there is increasing support for "Pamyat" and similar racist movements.

[Bonner] On the one hand, I am glad that "Pamyat" and the organizations that are close to it hardly received any support during the local and republic elections to the soviets. However, one has to recall that at one time a bunch of kids who gathered around Hitler in the Munich (civic) brewery in 1923 did not attract many sympathizers either. Anti-Semitism is an alarming phenomenon and must not be underestimated. I am annoyed that the head of state (Mikhail Gorbachev) has never commented directly on this problem.

[Zaytsev] And what is the authorities' reaction?

[Bonner] In some regions one can observe not only passivity but also activities by the leadership and mass media that tolerate the anti-Jewish propaganda by "Pamyat" and similar groups.

[Zaytsev] What is the reason for this, in your opinion?

[Bonner] It is not difficult to understand that the ideology of "looking for an enemy" is advantageous for any given leadership that wants to free itself from responsibility for a general decline—especially in times when the people have to tighten their belts. The character of this ideology is insulting and aggressive at the same time.

[Zaytsev] Apparently, the problem is far more comprehensive and complicated than simply anti-Semitism....

[Bonner] Of course the problem is not only anti-Semitism. For example, if we talk about increasing aggressiveness against people of other nationalities, the results of sociological surveys show increasing anti-Armenian tendencies in Russia. In everyday life this is connected with the influx of refugees from the Caucasus, although only one-third of the 60,000 refugees in Moscow and its surroundings are Armenians. The problem is getting worse and, in my opinion, the government and the media are largely to blame for this because so far they have not told the whole truth about the development and escalation of the Caucasus conflict. Unfortunately, the highest authority in our country is not able or willing to solve the nationalist conflicts by parliamentary means, and the existing laws are not enforced.

[Zaytsev] Who is responsible for this?

[Bonner] We excuse the lack of abilities of the firstgrader who makes a mistake in his exercise book. But there can be no excuse in the case of the leadership of a country with a population of almost 300 million people. By the way, the problem does not only lie with the leadership. We need a new constitution and legislation that really punishes the instigation of conflicts between the nationalities.

[Zaytsev] Will the situation become even worse?

[Bonner] So long as nothing happens, the situation will not improve and nationality conflicts, with all their consequences, will be unavoidable: pogroms, waves of resettlers, and refugees.

[Zaytsev] The GDR press reports about almost 200 Soviet Jews who are in the Berlin refugee camp....

[Bonner] This is news to me. I do not know why Soviet Jews are in this camp. If they do not want to live in the USSR, why did they not apply for emigration and depart directly from here....

[Zaytsev] Do you regard these people as political refugees?

[Bonner] The concept of "refugee" is very complicated. I am dealing with this problem and I met, for example, Armenian refugees in Armenia's permanent mission in Moscow and in the schools where they are accommodated. These people—among them women, old people, and children—came here to save their bare lives. For months they slept on cold floors since there was no room for them to live in. As regards the Soviet Jews in Berlin, it is entirely possible that they are driven by fear for their lives. In any case, however, for the USSR the problem of the refugees is not only the problem of the Jews.

[Zaytsev] Is it fair to compare the anti-Jewish atmosphere in the USSR with the persecution of the Jews in Nazi Germany as has been done in several publications?

[Bonner] I do not want to play things down, but I do not want to exaggerate them either. There have never been Jewish pogroms in the USSR since it was founded. There have been pogroms against Turks, Meskhetians, Armenians, and Azerbaijanis. I have also heard of a flare-up of anti-Semitism in France and of anti-Jewish excesses in the United States. Unfortunately, there is an anti-Jewish mood all over the world with the exception of only one state, namely Israel.

[Zaytsev] Have you experienced anti-Semitism first hand?

[Bonner] I am not one of those people who simply put up with insults. I have always known that I am Jewish and that this might be used against me. Nevertheless, I have always felt an urge to strike back at the enemies of Jews, and I do not need any social protection.

[Zaytsev] Yet conflicts cannot always be solved by striking back. Besides, not everybody is as courageous as you are.

[Bonner] I do not want to give advice to anybody in this respect. However, one must take into account the fact that the reason for the feeling of fear in the case of Jews

is their experience in the past. A people which experienced the tragedy of World War II, concentration camps, and the gas ovens has the right to have a particularly historical memory. Similarly, we must not forget the genocide of the Armenians (1915). This was the first mass annihilation of people of a certain nationality in the 20th century. The fact that the international public did not sufficiently condemn this crime at the time to a certain extent paved the way for the genocide of the Jews during World War II.

If Soviet Jews or Armenians get a feeling of fear about their future, then they should at least be given the opportunity to emigrate.

Andropov Blamed for 'Disastrous' KGB Decisions

LD0609165190 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] The Moscow weekly SOBESEDNIK has carried a highly critical story about operations by the State Security Committee, the KGB, which has been in the news a lot recently. A KGB officer, who prefers not to be identified, accused the KGB of corruption, of erroneous recommendations to the country's political leadership.

The anonymous colonel claims that as a result, a number of decisions were made that would later have disastrous effects. He says that the sending of Soviet troops to Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Afghanistan in 1979 are examples.

The KGB officer claims that he man behind all the decisions was Yuriy Andropov. The author accuses him of irresponsibility and inability to analyze events. The KGB colonel says that he is ready to testify to a parliamentary comnmission to speak about current abuse of power by the KGB if he is guaranteed personal security.

Validity of 'Complainants' Stance Questioned

PM3108160790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by G. Alimov: "No Compass in Sea of Complaints"]

[Text] It seems that we are turning into a nation of complainants. The Supreme Court is snowed under with letters, and an avalanche of appeals and applications threatens to shake the powerful fortress of the procuracy. Complainants from all over the Union have pitched camp at the Kremlin walls. And the country's parliament itself is all but groaning from petitioners and pickets.

At least my personal optimism has not increased after the 23 August meeting at the USSR Supreme Soviet Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals Committee. The theme of the announced news conference sounded inviting: "The tent cities of complainants at the Kremlin walls—are they necessary?" Actually, the fate of these people who have gathered from all over the country cannot fail to disturb. But on the other hand, it is no easier or sweeter for many, many people everywhere. They too are waiting and hoping. It's not just for the hell of it that they write in, knock on doors, and make requests. Who can help them?

We were probably brought up this way—with faith in a good official, a good judge, a good tsar. And mor oeften than not, as is the custom, we make for Moscow in search of these good people....

In the meeting with us journalists, the legislators in a certain sense found themselves, without realizing it, in the role of "looking for a shoulder to cry on." One can understand them. While the old-style Supreme Soviet used to receive approximately 300,000 letters a year, over a million appeals are now addressed annually to the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies. From January through July alone 2,820 petitions arrived at committees and commissions.

As V. Foteyev, chairman of the glasnost committee, said, with all the will in the world it is impossible to look into every letter. For this reason deputies send a stream of them out—as incidentally was the case before—to various departments. And in turn complaints are also heard from there—don't send them to us, not to us.... And so R. Tikhomirnov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, who attended the meeting, stated bluntly that they have many assignments from those deputies who do not have a direct relationship with the Supreme Court. He also complained of—or, let's put it this way, lamented—the fact that on the whole there is no respect for the courts in society. Attempts are often made to try to revoke or change a judicial decision by strong-arm tactics. Ultimatums are issued: certain labor collectives declare they will not work until you release so and so, they will strike to the end!

"What on earth is going on? Can a court really be treated like that?" Tikhomirnov said. "Here it has now become possible to put pressure on the judicial organs by means of rallies and strikes!"

And so USSR People's Deputy S. Danilov, a member of the Glasnost Committee, after meeting with petitioners from the tent city by the Kremlin wall announced to journalists that there are complainants who with complete impunity insult deputies and threaten them with physical violence. This happens even when citizens are being received.

"If I were an ordinary guy," a deputy said, "I would of course put up a fight. But I cannot...."

Then he added: "Trouble has been taken over the president's protection and honor, but the deputies have been forgotten about completely."

Indeed, when even legislators are complaining something is well and truly going wrong in our country. Something incomprehensible if, for instance, it also turns out that some kindly uncle starts to divide the complainants into ranks and take them under his special

patronage. In front of me here is a letter signed by V. Kuzin, deputy chairman of Moscow City Soviet, reference No. PZPG-51/90 dated 23 July. It begins: "To the prosecutor, chief of the KGB administration and of the internal affairs main administration, and Moscow hotel directors." Further on there follows: "I ask you to give all possible assistance to the people named below who have come to the USSR's capital city, Moscow, in order to resolve their affairs in the central organs and in state and social institutions and organizations, which includes guaranteeing:

—personal safety and physical nonprotection [as published] on the part of representatives of authority;
—the right to petition peacefully and other nonviolent forms of attracting public attention to instances of unlawful action and arbitrariness displayed by officials in relation to them;
—rest at night in suitable places for this and in foyers and lobbies of Moscow city's hotels, when a room is not available, to the following comrades numbered in order"..... The names of 103 people follow on the next three pages.

Of course safe-conduct passes can be issued; after all, everyone can obtain them in principle. But are we trying to build a rule-of-law state by such means? Sometimes it seems to me that if we had the opportunity to write a complaint to the Lord Almighty himself, we would not fail to take advantage of it and, for instance, would dash off a petition with a complaint about the president, the Supreme Court, the prosecutor....

The point is not whether these tent cities or petitions are necessary or not. As one of the deputies put it, the question is to ensure that they don't arise in the first place. Law governs the world. And the sooner we make the laws work, the sooner such cities will disappear.

As regards the tent city at the Kremlin walls, as they said at the news conference, it is still within Moscow City Soviet's purview....

Mothers Demand Disclosure of Soldiers' Deaths

LD0609223790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2014 GMT 6 Sep 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] An all-Union forum of soldiers' mothers from various Union republics and 17 towns of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic opened at the Ostankino concert studio in Moscow today. The mothers were demanding the disclosure of lists of 15,000 soldiers and sailors who were killed in the Army during the four years of perestroyka, with an indication of the cause of their death, the immediate introduction of soldiers' life insurance to the sum of 100,000 rubles through Defense Ministry funds, the extension of doctors' responsibility regarding criminal responsibility for unsatisfactory certification of conscripts, and immediate disbandment of all military construction units.

A statement adopted at the forum points out that urgent military reform and a transition to a professional Army are necessary.

Aims of All-Union 'Unity' Society Stated

90UN2750A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 35, 1-7 Sep 90 p 3

[Nina Andreyeva responds to reader's letter: "'Socialism or Death!'"]

[Text] **It is rumored that N. Andreyeva has founded her own party. If this is the case, please describe its program and aims.**

[Signed] N. Denisenko, Moscow.

We receive many such questions, and therefore we turned directly to N.A. Andreyeva, who announced the following:

I would like to inform you right away that our society is totally unrelated to the founding of a new party which is being planned currently in Novgorod.

The all-Union "Unity for Leninism and Communist Ideals" society was formed in May 1989 at a constituent congress in Moscow which was attended by people from 38 oblasts and republics of the country united by the idea of the rejection of the capitalization of socialism and rejecting the desecration of our revolutionary historical past. The initial impetus had come from my article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA of 13 March 1988.

The Gorbachev-Yakovlev-Shevardnadze right-opportunist group has fully revealed its initially disguised role of accomplice and proponent of the policy of the conversion of the land of Soviets into a raw material appendage of the developed capitalist countries. Our movement set as its task the rebuffing of the restorers of capitalism. We are opposed to the anti-Stalin and anti-Lenin hysteria.

Our organization advocates a strengthening of a renewed planned economy, socialist ownership of the implements and means of production, and the distribution of basic necessities not in accordance with capital or privileges but in accordance with the quantity and quality of work.

"Unity" confirms the leading role of the working class and its allies in the renewal of socialism under conditions of the socialist power of the people and genuinely democratic forms of a state of workers, peasants, and the working intelligentsia. We stand for the state's decisive cleansing of the "shadow" economy, home-grown millionaires, corruption, bureaucratism, and local preference; a strengthening of patriotic and internation principles in the life of society; a strengthening of the Soviet federation without a weakening of its state foundations; the supremacy of the laws of the USSR throughout the country's territory; and the cohesion of socialist and patriotic forces.

Our movement is for the raising of the youth according to the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the older generations—the builders and defenders of socialism—in a spirit of constant readiness to rise at any moment to the defense of its socialist motherland; and is opposed to nationalism, chauvinism, and cosmopolitanism as well as a weakening of the defense and protective function of the Soviet state, the treacherous attacks on our Armed Forces and the command and political personnel of the Army and Navy, and the attacks on the internal affairs and state security authorities.

The entire activity of our movement is aimed at imparting a communist focus and content to popular initiative.

The Second All-Union "Unity" Conference in April 1990 raised the question of the society's reorganization into a Bolshevik party and of a constituent congress this fall unless the CPSU and the Communist Party of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] found within themselves the strength to confront the revisionism, opportunism, and national-communism which had initiated the degeneration of a Lenin-type into a social democratic, Menshevik, parliamentary-type party.

"Socialism or death!"

IZVESTIYA Seen Facing Unfair Competition

PM0609155190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by M. Berger under the "Theme of the Day" rubric: "When You Haven't Enough Money to Pay for Your Love of IZVESTIYA"]

[Excerpts] When you read some of the letters sent to the editorial office about the new price of the newspaper, to be honest all our problems to do with the rising cost of paper, printing, and distribution seem to pale into insignificance. In certain conditions at least we can influence their solution. [passage omitted]

We of course are hoping that with development of market relations the amount of advertising space offered by our newspaper will increase our revenue so much that we will be able to make our price accessible to literally everybody. So that in this sense the market will objectively help pensioners and others on low income to satisfy their demand for information. But in a direct sense, at the present moment, I am afraid that it cannot. [passage omitted]

It should be noted that the central dailies find themselves in an unequal position. The trade unions intend to help the trade union press from their own budgets, the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League Central Committee will do the same for the youth press, and the party treasury will help out the party press. Only citizens of the Soviet Union do not pay "Soviet" subscriptions which could be used to help support the Soviet press, including IZVESTIYA. As for financial support, the Soviets need that no less than we do.

Of course, I wish my PRAVDA colleagues every success, but I do not plan to send them money transfers via party subscriptions from money that the party has already built up or is going to receive in the future. Yet such a procedure is persistently suggested in the letters published by PRAVDA. Furthermore, even before the adoption of a decision on this question, the cost of a year's subscription to PRAVDA was 3 rubles less than IZVESTIYA even though we have virtually the same frequency and conditions of publication. Who is subsidizing this discount? In this way, apparently, many IZVESTIYA readers will be financing the low, "give-away" prices of at least two newspapers—PRAVDA and TRUD. I am not sure that everyone agrees to give the newspapers this kind of obligatory material aid.

The rules of honest competition, which unfortunately do not prevail here yet, suggest other means of campaigning for readers. We will do everything to reward them by the quality of our materials and also by campaigning for a better, richer life for readers.

Supplies of Newspaper Printing Ink in Jeopardy

PM0609161390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by I. Demchenko "Topical Subject": "New Shortage: Printer's Ink"]

[Text] First there was nothing to print newspapers on, now there is nothing to print them with. We do not have the wherewithal to produce printer's ink, the components for which our country has bought abroad for years. In view of the state's insolvency, our foreign partners have stopped delivering these components to both the plants which produce printer's ink in the Soviet Union: the Torzhok and Moscow plants. If these two plants come to a halt there will be no newspapers, magazines, school textbooks, or price lists for raincoats and overcoats. We will just be helpless in the face of this shortage.

In desperation the USSR State Committee for the Press [Goskompechat] has proposed that the country's printing enterprises "get rid" of their hard currency and stock up on the necessary components. But where will our publishing houses and printing presses get the hard currency from since virtually their entire output is produced for the home market?

While the Goskompechat has been holding conferences, both the Torzhok lines producing blue ink have come to a halt. We bought the pigment for this ink from the well-known West German firm BASF which is one of many firms to have suffered because of its friendly attitude to us: It sold raw materials for credit and has not been paid. As of the second quarter, BASF—a traditional

partner of many years' standing—stopped supplying the pigment; now the last remains have been used up from the plants' stockpiles.

The lack of blue ink means that henceforth we have lost not just a single element of the spectrum but the entire colored press as such. The fact is that in the printing process bright colored illustrations are printed using four colors: red, yellow, blue, and black. The removal of just one of the three colors leaves us with just a black and white press. In order to anticipate any questions, I would add that there has been a USSR Council of Ministers resolution ordering that production of blue pigment be arranged—we already produce yellow and red pigments—but it has not been carried out.

But even this is not all. Black ink, like the kind used to print this issue of IZVESTIYA, is reddish-brown in its natural form. It is made black by the addition of a pigment—also imported—on which we have also failed to keep up our payments to our suppliers. The last batch was delivered on credit in May, and this credit has still not been repaid. The chief engineer of the Torzhok Printer's Ink Plant reports that there is only enough pigment left for six weeks' work.

Without claiming the right to decide which foreign-currency funds should be used up first in the current crisis situation and which can wait, I would nonetheless like to draw readers' attention to the fact that lately shortages have been increasingly affecting printing enterprises for some reason. First there was the paper shortage, then paper got more expensive, forcing publishers to raise the price of newspapers and magazines. Now there is a shortage of printer's ink.

Lvov Combine Ceases Printing of PRAVDA

LD0609143390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1300 GMT 6 Sep 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] In Lvov, the multigraphic combine Vilna Ukraina has stopped printing the newspaper PRAVDA.

Economic

Abalkin Discusses Two Economic Reform Plans

LD0609163190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] As you know, two versions of the concept of transition to the market economy have been drafted, the government one and that under the direction of Academician Shatalin. They are now being debated by deputies of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, and after 10 September they will be examined by the country's [USSR] parliamentarians. And so a time of choice has arrived.

Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has answered questions from INTERFAX correspondent Terekhov.

In accordance with the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the correspondent said, the government should by 1 September have reworked its program of transition to the market economy. Has this work been finished or have all the documents been handed to the group of experts known as the Shatalin Group?

Academician Abalkin replied that the government has fulfilled the task it had been set, and by 1 September had submitted its draft. It is now being duplicated and distributed to deputies for familiarization. It is the task of the country's Supreme Soviet to determine how to regard the question of transition to the market system: as two separate program or together.

Vyacheslav Terekhov mentioned the intention to combine the two programs into one and submit it for debate. Is it possible to combine them?

Indeed, Abalkin agreed, the president will make this attempt in order to end up with a single program instead of two. I cannot say who he will succeed. As for the possibility of combining the programs, in my opinion they have many common points. For instance, the principles of formation of the market economy. In world practice they are well known and there is no need to re-invent them. Moreover, in a number of cases the same people took part in the compilation of these programs using the same materials, so there are even direct coincidences. The field is wide open for the search for joint agreed solutions. But there also exist fundamental differences where I think agreement is impossible. And the question in this case should be decided by a vote. Nevertheless, the first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers noted, I would not hasten with a final answer to this question. The president has not yet exploited all the opportunities and therefore he is observing the gentlemen's agreement reached at the joint session of the Presidential Council and Council of the Federation. One must try to prevent whipping up the public atmosphere and find a concerted solution. Otherwise it could aggravate the situation. The president should hear the views of both sides and make a decision. This is not easy because there are incompatible positions in both documents.

The next question from the INTERFAX correspondent came quite naturally: What will the government do if the president's choice alights on the program devised by the Shatalin Group?

In Abalkin's words, in that case the president would take upon himself full responsibility for the consequences. He will make his choice and decide to whom to entrust the implementation of the program on which he alights.

Today, Vyacheslav Terekhov pointed out, in the speeches at the congress of the Communist Party of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, threats were heard that if as a result of the transition to the market the country ends up with haves and have nots

then, as regards the former, there may be cases of physical violence. What do you think, is it really possible?

In our country, the deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers said, such relapses cannot be ruled out. Incidentally, this process is already actually happening. There will be arson attacks on private enterprises, leasehold estates, and farms. Leonid Abalkin stressed at the same time that the people who call for such action must understand once and for all that responsibility for casualties rests on them. If there is no consent and no unity in society the danger of such disorders and excesses is very likely.

Belov Notes Goskomstat's 8-Month Figures

LD0609142190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1253 GMT on 6 September carries a three-minute report by correspondent Valeriy Kyosa. Kyosa notes he has asked Nikolay Grigoryevich Belov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Statistical Committee [Goskomstat] to comment on the new data concerning the performance of the country's national economy over the past eight months. The rate of the development of the economy is slowing down, says Belov. It is expected that national income will decline by two percent relative to the same period last year. Labor productivity is also declining. There has been a substantial decline in production by practically all leading industries. "In particular, the fuel and power engineering complex has a shortfall of 17 million tones of oil and 21 million tonnes of coal, but gas industry workers worked better and gas extraction went up by 11 billion cubic meters over this period," Belov notes. The total volume of production of rolled stock in the metallurgical industry has declined by 0.9 percent, and of steel pipes by five percent. Production of consumer goods has gone up by approximately seven percent. The value of increased production of these goods, as compared with the same period last year, is 19 billion rubles. Shelves are empty because too much money chases too few goods. People's monetary income has, over this period, gone up by 13 percent but the total volume of production has declined. Practically one in four enterprises fails to fulfill its obligations. Economic development must be stabilized, otherwise market measures will have little effect, Belov says.

Rumors in Joint Business Registration Clarified

LD0609181590 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Stepanov]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—"Rumours, spread in Moscow as well as across the country, that the Soviet Finance Ministry will stop registering joint businesses on Soviet territory beginning from September 10 are unfounded," Aleksandr Sokolov, head of the ministry's free currency and economic department, told TASS.

"No less than 150 telephone calls daily request a clarification of the situation," Sokolov said.

At present, the Soviet Finance Ministry refused to register only those joint ventures that are located in the Soviet Baltic republics and in the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. The USSR Council of Ministers has recently made this decision at the request of those republics, which presently exercise control over joint businesses' activity themselves.

Joint ventures on the rest of the Soviet Union's territory will be registered as usual by the Union ministry. Sokolov said that on January 1, 1991, these functions would be ceded to the republican financial agencies. This is attributed, above all, to the increasing decentralisation of the Soviet economy and the granting of extensive rights to Union republics.

In addition, it is increasingly difficult for the Soviet Finance Ministry to exercise effective control over the formation and operation of joint enterprises. Over 2,180 such ventures have been launched and upwards of a hundred joint businesses are registered monthly.

The terms for registering joint ventures by the Union republics will in principle be the same. In order to make the "power transition" process painless, the Soviet Finance Ministry will open, starting from next week, a series of seminars for republican financial agencies on methods of registering and exercising control over joint ventures' activity, Sokolov said.

Kaliningrad Products Hauled West From Moscow

PM3008140790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Report by S. Chekalin and V. Belousov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Here is an alarming story from Kaliningrad. You would probably be most surprised if I said that the shortest and most economical route from Kaliningrad—Russia's westernmost city—to Hamburg starts in Moscow. But judging by everything, that is precisely the view of the Sovtransavto Association workers.

[Reporter] We have gotten used to the paradoxes in our administrative-edict system. Here is another one.

Where does this truck come from?

[Unidentified worker] Moscow. We are taking Kaliningrad vodka to Hamburg.

[Reporter] And how far have you come from Moscow with an empty load?

[Worker] One thousand two hundred kilometers.

[Reporter] And you do that all the time?

[Worker] All the time.

[Reporter] Deliveries to Western countries of this export vodka produced in Kaliningrad and other Kaliningrad products used to be handled by the truckers of the Kaliningrad Motor Vehicle Administration. And that was logical. It is just a stone's throw from here to Germany. But the all-Union Sovtransavto Association, in a rearguard action against staff cuts and with a view to earning more hard currency, decided to take over these shipments. So now these big trucks are driven from Moscow to Oslo, while the highly experienced Kaliningrad truckers—who are experts when it comes to Europe's roads—have to constantly patch up their vehicles while waiting for the trucks they have been promised by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Motor Transport.

[Unidentified worker] We have had no work for two years while we have been waiting for these vehicles.

[Reporter] The RSFSR Ministry of Motor Transport is now being abolished. But trucks with Moscow license plates are still crossing half the country to take Kaliningrad products to the West.

[A.N. Vasilyev, chief engineer at Trucking Enterprise 1359] We have the trained cadres, we have the products, we have the will, but we do not have the trucks. Our association's representative was in Moscow literally a few days ago. He told us that our ministry is being abolished and that there is nobody to resolve the matter. But, after all, promissory notes were issued by this ministry, and someone should back them up. We are the westernmost region and our products are top-notch.

[Reporter] What is more, a free economic zone is being established in Kaliningrad Oblast.

[Vasilyev] Absolutely right. And who is better placed than us to solve the problems we are facing? But people are trying to solve them for us. It is an insult.

Steel Town's 'Ecological Disaster Zone' Profiled

PM0609115990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Report by G. Klimov, A. Senin from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Around 1.2 million tonnes of harmful substances are annually discharged into the atmosphere at Krivoy Rog. Today Krivoy Rog and the surrounding area have become an ecological disaster zone.

[Reporter] Until recently Krivoy Rog was described as the Iron Heart of the Land of the Soviets. Now it is generally admitted that this heart is chronically ailing. Krivoy Rog has retained its leading role as the country's iron-ore base. The problem lies elsewhere. Among the country's industrial centers, Krivoy Rog has taken the lead as regards the gross discharge of gases and dust into the atmosphere. Stationary sources alone are responsible for the discharge of 1.2 million tonnes of harmful substances into the atmosphere. This is only an approximation. There are no modern instruments which register all kinds of atmospheric pollution.

So it is not surprising when you see youths lighting fires in the green zone. Ecological education takes the lowest of priorities. The virtually unchecked reign of monopolies has turned not just Krivoy Rog but also the surrounding agricultural rayons into an ecological disaster zone.

The city needs 2 billion rubles [R] for nature conservation projects. Where is this money to come from? Where do you expect help from?

[Yu.I. Chirkov, chairman of the city soviet deputy commission] We cannot expect help from anyone. Unless we do it ourselves, no one will help us. We must identify and utilize resources in the revenue of our enterprises. This revenue is substantial, but the greater part of it goes to the center. We have no idea how it is spent.

[Reporter] A city ecological fund has been established. Enterprises responsible for the pollution are paying money into the local soviet account. However, the sums so far are insignificant in view of the scale of the ecological problem. The creation of effective gas and dust filtering installations is one matter, evacuating tens of thousands of people who are living in the immediate vicinity of the giants of ferrous metallurgy is another.

More than R50 million is allocated for nature conservation measures in the city annually. However, this has changed little as regards the ecological situation. All kind of options to improve the ecological situation are currently being studied. One thing is obvious. They will be effective only if damaging the environment becomes very disadvantageous for enterprises.

Sock Production Halted by Lack of Needles

PM060909439 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Report by Ye. Orlov, S. Seleznev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] You will now see the first of a series of reports. It comes from Volgograd. Italian equipment for the production of men's socks—an article in very short supply today, as you know—has recently been installed at the local knitwear association.

[Reporter] Here are the socks, or rather samples of the output. We were shown them at the production-and-trade knitwear association. They are white with a pattern—the latest fashion. The association produced them for all of seven months and six days. They just managed to whet the appetites of trade outlets and consumers when the machines came to a halt. All 50 knitwear machines from the renowned Sangiacomo Company, and another 10 or so machines from the no less respected Roma Company, literally stopped. The

equipment which cost some 2 million rubles was covered with polythene to protect it from dust. Has the equipment broken down? Nothing of the sort! The West, as is known, knows how to produce reliable-quality equipment.

The computer which creates the sock designs is working at full capacity, for instance. The range of color schemes which it can produce is unlimited. The program is recorded on a magnetic tape cassette which is then inserted in the machine which in turn, obeying the electronic commands, sets about knitting the set pattern.

The problem is that, although they bought the computer, they omitted to buy a supply of these minute metal components, costing just a few cents, which do the actual knitting. The components which were supplied from Italy, together with the equipment, have come to the end of their service life and there is nothing to replace them with. So the machines had to be switched off and workers transferred to other sections. The money has been spent, and still there are no socks.

A Zhitomir factory, which has also put trust into imported wonders and the professional skill of our foreign trade experts, finds itself in exactly the same situation.

But perhaps it was impossible to buy a supply of these special needles at the time?

[S. P. Sergiyenko, director general of the association] Of course it was possible.

[Reporter] So why has it not been done?

[Sergiyenko] Somebody should have thought of it, since the components that were bought were destined to last only between five and seven months. We operated for those seven months. Now we have ground to a halt. There is no foreign currency. Who is supposed to deal with this? I believe that there are people who are supposed to deal with this, whose job it is to resolve this problem.

[Reporter] Who do you mean, specifically?

[Sergiyenko] Well, specifically, it is Tekhnopromimport which is in charge of purchases for our industry, for our enterprise.

[Announcer] I must say right away that pinning hopes on Tekhnopromimport is fairly futile. It has no foreign currency and is not likely to have any in the near future.

This is our first question to business people. What should the Volgograders do? What can be done to help them? Perhaps someone can help them out with foreign currency on business terms. Perhaps someone has some different ideas. You can cable the editorial office and we will pass on your proposals.

Economy Compared to 1917 Revolution 'Devastation'

LD0609211190 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—The present state of the Soviet economy is very much like that at the time of devastation caused by the 1917 revolution, according to Vladimir Karnaukhov, member of the Moscow Executive Committee in charge of the city's distribution network.

Shortages and market imbalances have reached a peak, Karnaukhov told TASS. Driven by the lack of belief in the rouble and the fear of price hikes in the near future, people hurry to buy whatever there is on sale.

"It is necessary to normalise the situation, but to accomplish this task will certainly be an uphill job, taking into account panic buying of bread, meat, sugar and tobacco".

Asked if he believes that the present economic state has been brought about by the mafia or by blunders in the economic policy, Karnaukhov said:

"I am afraid the word mafia is being brandished far and wide a little bit too much. Mafia means an organised conglomerate. I do not believe there is an organised mafia, particularly in the distribution network. But there exist mafia-like groups which are connected not only with the distribution network. They operate along many lines, through numerous agencies and organisations and this is what makes them so tenacious".

"We have not yet found the proper way to switch from the command system to a system using economic levers to manage this huge country of ours. We have dismantled the former and have not yet created the latter, so now we find ourselves in a state of complete confusion and bewilderment.

"Nevertheless, I hope that the recently proposed government programme, supplemented with alternative variants, will give this country a chance to let every enterprising person capable of constructive thinking live and work freely.

"Now that documents are ready to privatise the Moscow distribution network and some shops have begun working under new conditions—on an family or a lease basis—many interesting leaders have appeared, good at commercial thinking and organising numerous links with partners across the country in order to supply goods in high demand. "They are only hindered by obsolete laws and instructions," Karnaukhov said. [quotations marks as received]

Agricultural

Machine Parts Shortage Jeopardizes Cotton Crop

PM0609160390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Report by G. Babayev, V. Atayev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Anxious appeals to help save grain and vegetables are pouring in from all parts of the country. Frankly speaking, the introduction of a state of emergency and all but a general mobilization in a given area do not always serve as a guarantee of success during harvest work. The same shortages of manpower, machinery, engine fuel, and spare parts repeat themselves year after year.

An alarm signal has also been received from Turkmenistan where the cotton harvest has started.

[Reporter] The cotton bolls are barely visible among dense foliage, but there are already many pickers in the fields. Every fall day is precious. Machine picking will start later when defoliation has been completed after chemical treatment. The leaves fall to the ground and only cotton gets into the drums.

In Mary Oblast, some 4,500 machines are to take part in the cotton-picking marathon which usually lasts about three months. It is planned to pick about 80 percent of the crop by machine. However, it is feared that many of them will be out of the running as soon as they break down for the first time. The Uzbekselmash plant has failed to deliver more than 50,000 spindles—the main component of the cotton grabbing device—to the oblast. And that is just one component; others are also in short supply. Mechanics at the Sakar-Chaginskiy Rayon agro-industrial association have learned to restore many of the components. But you will agree that it is impossible to do a great deal with such antedeluvian equipment.

Yet contracts for the delivery of spare parts for next year have not yet been concluded with either the Uzbekselmash or any other plant. This is unprecedented.

Belorussia Threatened With Grain Shortfall

LD0609131990 Minsk Domestic Service in Russian 0650 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Although the country expects to gather in a bumber harvest, the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic may face a serious problem of grain shortfall. Let us enlighten you: Our traditional supplier, Kazakhstan, refuses to barter it for Belorussian potatoes out of fear it will get potatoes from us with Chernobyl radionuclides. Kazakhstan demands, somewhat akin to an ultimatum, that in exchange for its grain Belorussia should send its agricultural machines to assist in gathering the harvest, but Belorussia itself is short of these. Our economists hoped to ensure the sufficient purchases in Ukraine and in the Kuban region, but met with difficulties once again: Both of them ask 50 to 60 kopecks for one kilogram of grain an excessively high price.

In connection with this, today's ZVYAZDA writes in an article called "The Grain Ultimatum" that if the Belorussian government fails to find a common language with leaders of grain-growing regions at an earliest date, Belorussia will suffer great difficulties and losses in the near future.

Scientific

Head of Space Research Lists Key Missions

907Q0149A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by A. Galeyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Space Research: "There Is No Benefit in Argument: Prospects for the Development of Soviet Space Research"]

[Text] No matter how heated we may become when arguing, when we do we must rely on specific knowledge about the subject of the dispute. There have recently been a number of critical attacks on space research: Spending is too high and the returns too low. Particular complaints have been directed at the proportion of fundamental research in space. Now, they say, that is the least of our worries. And what are Soviet plans in this regard?

Unfortunately, the public's ideas about spending on scientific space research and its supposed insignificant contribution to solving urgent questions of scientific and technical progress are far from the reality. Only two or three percent of all allocations for space research in the Soviet Union are used for research in the interests of basic science.

Meanwhile it is fundamental science in particular, as it is called, that creates the foundation for the applied disciplines. And it is through fundamental science that they become a production force. All the most important sectors of today's technologies—electronics, nuclear power engineering, computers—have their origins in fundamental science. True, possible practical solutions are not always seen, particularly during the initial stages of research, but the results often go beyond even the boldest expectations.

And so activity in space should remain an integral part of our lives all the time and should be continued from day to day and from year to year. It cannot be regarded as a series of conjunctural leaps, each of which requires a massive concentration of effort.

Over the next decade the Soviet Union plans to send astrophysics laboratories into space which will make it

possible to see all parts of the electromagnetic spectrum from gamma quanta to radio waves. As a result we may expect the detection and detailed study of planetary systems around other stars; to obtain data on the origin and development of life in the universe; reveal the mechanism involved in physical processes under the extreme conditions in neutron stars and black holes; and achieve radical advances in research into the properties of space and time, electromagnetic particles, and the evolution of the universe.

One of the most important sources of new information will undoubtedly be the Spektr-Rentgen-Gamma orbiting observatory, scheduled for launch in 1993. The sensitivity of the main telescopes on the observatory in the standard x-ray range is a thousand times better than the sensitivity of the apparatus that is operating today aboard the Kvant module.

Another project is the Spektr-UFT astrophysics observatory for a variety of spectral and photometric observations that will be superior to all space programs up to now devoted to studies in the ultraviolet.

The development of a ground-space system made up of an orbiting radiotelescope and a ground network of the largest telescopes in the world is planned to study the radio range. In terms of its resolution, this system will be the equivalent of a gigantic radiotelescope with an antenna tens of thousands of kilometers in diameter.

Finally, another two key projects in the long-term program of astrophysics research will enable us to look at the very beginning of the existence of the universe. What we are talking about here is conducting cosmological and astrophysics studies in the still virtually unstudied submillimeter range—the Spektr-IK project—and also the continuation of the so-called primal radiation in the millimeter range. This radiation is what is left from very ancient epochs and it makes it possible to assess the state of the universe many billions of years ago.

With regard to studies of the solar system, experience has shown that the most effective as far as scientific yield is concerned is a consistent program comprising a number of missions to one object at intervals of several years. Here each preceding expedition creates a basis for new and more complex missions. This is what has been done with the Moon and Venus. Now it is planned to implement a similar program for Mars.

Why, after this relatively long interval, has Mars become a "first magnitude star" in the sky of space research? Interpretation of the data obtained from apparatus aboard space vehicles has significantly extended the ideas about that planet, but many questions concerning its nature remain unresolved or require further study. At the same time, in these years new ideas have emerged about some of the facilities used to study Mars. What I have in mind is the use of aerostat probes to study the dynamics of the atmosphere, the mineralogical mapping of its surface, and taking infrared heat pictures and studying the vertical structure of the atmosphere from spectral measures of solar radiation under solar eclipse conditions on Mars.

The first stage of this research program for Mars is planned for 1994. It is planned to conduct global studies of its surface and atmosphere with the help of artificial satellites, aerostat probes dropped into the atmosphere, and meteorological stations sent to the Martian surface.

In 1996 it is planned to continue the study of Mars and bring back to earth rock samples from its moon Phobos. And two years later a self-propelled apparatus—a "Marsokhod"—should start to operate on the surface of Mars equipped with drilling gear. And during the next century it is planned to bring back to earth samples of Martian rock and to develop the means for a manned Martian expedition.

The "Tsiolkovskiy" project is to occupy an important place in the broad program of solar studies planned. It will include the development of a special probe and its insertion into a trajectory that takes it toward the Sun using the gravitational pull of Jupiter. This will provide an opportunity to take measurements in the inner part of the heliosphere—virtually the only area of the solar system that remains unexplored.

The experts have no doubts about the need to conduct solar studies at close range. This kind of work is going on both at NASA in the United States and within the European Space Agency. It is clear that missions to the only star accessible to us should be consistent and should combine the efforts of many countries. A single probe will not suffice here: A first expedition could produce totally unexpected results.

Experimental studies of space plasma are closely associated with studies of the Sun and solar-terrestrial links.

Today it is quite obvious that the solar wind and the earth's magnetosphere and ionosphere are closely interlinked and constitute an electrodynamic system that is extremely variable over time. Accordingly, studies of the cause-and-effect links between the phenomena that play within this system require simultaneous monitoring of different critical fields in each of its elements using several space vehicles operating under a single program. Here satellite observations must be "supported" by measures made by ground stations.

We hope to obtain extensive scientific results in the physics of plasma phenomena taking place in circumterrestrial space during the course of the Interbol project. This envisages work under a single program by space vehicles located in space, one of which will be placed at a distance of more than 1 million kilometers from earth.

The development of a sufficiently dense system of satellites would, in addition to answering questions in plasma physics, at the same time be an important element in studies of the effect of solar activity on earth's atmosphere, climate, and biosphere. Solving this problem will

become the main goal of studies using a system of small space laboratories equipped with solar sails (the Regata project). The laboratory has been developed right here at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Space Research.

Scientists and experts from many countries in the world are involved in realization of virtually all the scientific research projects planned in our program. This is opening up broad opportunities for developing research equipment at the highest level. Moreover, our partners abroad are making significant financial contributions in the preparations for the projects. In particular, the spending by just the American side in the Spektr-Rentgen-Gamma project will exceed $50 million. In addition to the United States scientific equipment for this laboratory is being developed in Austria, Bulgaria, Great Britain, Hungary, the GDR, Canada, Italy, Denmark, Poland, Portugal, the FRG, Czechoslovakia, and Switzerland as well as by the European Space Agency.

Significant opportunities for cooperation between the USSR and the United States are being opened up in the field of space monitoring of the environment. This year it is planned to launch into orbit a second Almaz space platform—he first was launched in 1987 as Kosmos-1870—with radar equipment. And late in 1991 a Priroda module is to dock with the Mir orbital station. The combination of the Almaz, which possess high spatial resolution and low spectral resolution, and the equipment on the Priroda, which possess high spectral resolution and low spatial resolution, may turn out to be useful for work on the concept of a future regular system used to monitor earth from space.

Successes in space research depend largely on the correct organization of the work. In particular, under the conditions of the funding system existing today for space research, the Academy of Sciences receives money only for direct tasks—the development of scientific apparatus, data processing, and so forth. Funding for rocket technology is traditionally funneled directly to the manufacturers via the Ministry of General Machine Building. In our opinion, effective development of science in space is possible only by allocating all funding to the client—the USSR Academy of Sciences. Under today's conditions we are still subject to the dictates of the producer, and we are being forced to use equipment that does not always satisfy us.

In conclusion I would like to note that the program of scientific studies set forth here for the next 10 years and the prospects for the beginning of the next century is a minimum scenario that will enable the USSR to maintain its present position in the field of space science. It has been drawn up giving due consideration to the space programs of the United States, France, and the European Space Agency. Any curtailment or extension of the periods for completion of the projects will entail serious delays and a decline in the scientific level of scientific research, and will also impair continuity in the projects of various countries. And this in turn will lead to significant financial and political losses.

At this time, however, the Interdepartmental Scientific and Technical Council for Space Research has approved only part of the program proposed by the USSR Academy of Sciences. But it has still not even yet provided guarantees that the necessary funding will be made available.

New Machinery Offers Multiple Diagnostic Tests

PM0609133390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Report by S. Inyushkin, V. Shishkin from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] It is impossible to picture the work of many medical establishments without electronic equipment. Our report from the Penza Oblast Hospital named for Burdenko is devoted to this topic.

[Reporter] Judging by the nurse's actions, which everyone probably recognizes, you might think than an ECG [electrocardiogram] is about to be done. However, the equipment next to the hospital bed is not a cardiograph but a new system as yet unfamiliar in our hospitals.

A few keystrokes and an invisible and completely painless screening of the organism begins. We are in the polyclinic of the oblast hospital named for Burdenko, in the pre-consultation diagnosis laboratory where Ritm [Rhythm], a new diagnostic complex, is helping doctors in their work.

Is it possible to claim that Ritm has changed the rhythm of the medical staff's work in your polyclinic?

[A.A. Bogucharskiy, head of the polyclinic] Of course it has. As a result of the introduction of this apparatus, staffing has been reduced and the quality of medical examinations has improved.

[Reporter] Literally within five minutes you have obtained information about how many parameters?

[Bogucharskiy] Some 60 parameters. We were unable to obtain parameters such as blood volume per heart-stroke and blood volume per minute in the past even at specialized establishments. Now this apparatus furnishes us with all these parameters.

[Reporter] Does this mean that many doctors' routine tasks have been done away with?

[Bogucharskiy] Essentially, the doctor is furnished with all necessary information. In order to obtain this information the patient formerly had to undergo tests in many different laboratories. Now he just comes to our laboratory and all the tests are done here.

We have a good computer center and excellent programmers who write our programs themselves.

Another important feature is that the information, once in the computer, stays there virtually forever. If a patient or a healthy person comes back a year later, the information can be retrieved at any time.

Soviets To Join Hotel 'Space Plane Project'

PM0609164090 London DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 6 Sep 90 p 2

[Report by John Harlow: "Soviet Team To Join Space Plane Project"]

[Text] British and Russian engineers are to combine to revive the Hotol space plane project, shelved two years ago after the Ministry of Defence banned publication of its secret air-breathing engine technology.

As British Aerospace made the announcement yesterday at the Farnborough Air Show, Rolls-Royce also revealed a deal with the Russians to put engines into the Kamov Ka-62R civil helicopter, which is due to fly in 1993.

The six-month joint study to revamp Hotol, or Horizontal Take-Off and Landing Aircraft, will judge whether it is possible to launch a new Hotol from a "piggy-back" position on top of the giant Soviet Antonov AN-225 transport plane, the world's largest aircraft.

This would not only mean that conventional rocket fuel could be used instead of the revolutionary air-breathing engines, thus removing MoD [Ministry of Defense] objections, but it could be launched from a much wider variety of locations for satellite repair work.

The plan is for the new Hotol to meet some of the objects of the original project, but at a greatly reduced development cost.

A two-year British study which began in 1985 found that Hotol was technically and commercially feasible.

Funded equally by British Aerospace, Rolls-Royce and the Government, the study proposed that while industry paid for research, the cost of another feasibility study should be met by Government.

But Mr Alan Bond, the senior Hotol designer, claimed that BAe [British Aerospace] was banned from revealing information about its revolutionary jets to potential partners, which effectively killed the project.

Military

Gorbachev Decree on Servicemen's Legal Protection

PM0609133190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

["USSR President's Decree on Certain Measures To Strengthen Servicemen's Social and Legal Protection"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] In the USSR Armed Forces, Internal Troops, USSR KGB troops, railroad troops, and other paramilitary formations envisaged by USSR legislation, there are cases of death and injury to personnel as a result of violations of safety measures during combat training sessions, in the use of arms and combat equipment, in the performance of construction and economic work, and in daily life.

This situation, which rightly worries society, is associated with the inadequate legal protection of servicemen as well as with omissions in the organization of troops' service and daily life and in educational work with personnel, and with a decline in the responsibility of certain commanders and chiefs for the maintenance of order and discipline in units and subunits. There are distortions of disciplinary practice.

There has also been an increase in the frequency of physical assault [vozdeystviye] on servicemen performing tasks in protecting public order, especially in regions of the country with complex interethnic relations. There are frequent attacks on soldiers, sergeants, warrant officers, and officers with a view to seizing weapons.

The existing circumstances necessitate the adoption of urgent measures to strengthen servicemen's social and legal protection and considerably increase the effectiveness of work to ensure safe conditions of military service.

On the basis of Article 127(3) of the USSR Constitution I resolve:

1. To instruct the USSR defense minister, the USSR minister of internal affairs, the chairman of the USSR KGB, and the chief of the railroad troops to urgently implement a package of organizational and educational measures aimed at resolutely strengthening discipline and order among the troops, enhancing military cadres' responsibility for the safety of personnel, and strengthening the legal and social protection of personnel.

Within the system of organs engaging in educational work, they must provide for the existence of subunits and specialists dealing with social and legal problems.

In troops' everyday life they must maintain high vigilance and the strict implementation by all officials of their duties to defend the life, health, dignity, and honor of their subordinates from criminal encroachments.

2. In the draft legislative acts that are being elaborated on questions of the performance of military service, the USSR Defense Ministry, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the USSR KGB must make provision for measures ensuring legal guarantees of inviolability of the person for servicemen.

3. Before 1 January 1991 the USSR Council of Ministers must resolve the question of introducing mandatory state personal insurance for servicemen, and also for reservists during training camps, in the event of their death, injury, or loss of health during the execution of

their service duties owing to the unlawful actions of other persons, accident, or sickness associated with the performance of military service. It must proceed on the basis that the insurance is to be effected with funds from the USSR Defense Ministry, USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, USSR KGB, USSR Ministry of Transport Construction, and other ministries and departments.

4. The USSR Ministry of Health is instructed to ensure the provision of emergency medical aid to servicemen injured in the course of exercises, redeployments, and the performance of special missions as well as in other circumstances in cases where military medical establishments are unable to provide such assistance.

5. The USSR Supreme Soviet is instructed to examine the question of granting servicemen the right to protest in military tribunals unlawful actions by officials and military control organs overstepping the bounds of regulation relations and infringing servicemen's rights and personal dignity, in accordance with the USSR law of 2 November 1989 "On the Procedure for Judicially Protesting Unlawful Actions by Organs of State Management and Officials Which Infringe Citizens' Rights."

6. The USSR Prosecutor's Office must promptly resolve questions of instituting proceedings against persons to blame for the death of servicemen or for causing injury to them or other damage to their health. The USSR prosecutor general must step up personal monitoring of the activity of the military prosecutor's office to oversee the implementation of laws on ensuring safety in the sphere of military activity.

7. The USSR Supreme Soviet is recommended to organize systematic monitoring of the effectiveness of the measures taken by the USSR Ministry of Defense, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the USSR KGB, and other ministries and departments to observe servicemen's constitutional rights and to strengthen their social and legal protection.

[Signed] USSR President M. Gorbachev

'Nuclear Training' Victims To Receive Benefits

90SV0014A Moscow TRUD in Russian 31 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "The Hot September of 1954"]

[Text] **A 6 January TRUD article under the same headline spoke about the ordeal suffered by the participants of nuclear training, but nobody remembers them today. They are not entitled to any benefits or privileges except one—to complain of their deteriorating health. And even that they can do only now that the term of their enforced silence has expired.**

As we mentioned in the 13 February issue of TRUD, A. Biryukova, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, asked V. Shcherbakov, chairman of the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems; Ye. Chazov, then minister of health; Minister of Finance V. Pavlov; and M. Moiseyev, USSR first deputy minister of defense, to cooperate in considering the issues mentioned in the article and to present their joint suggestions.

Today we can inform our readers that the problems outlined in our article have been discussed by the USSR State Committee for Labor, the USSR Ministry of Defense, the USSR Ministry of Finance, and the USSR Ministry of Health. They composed a document which states among other things:

"In accordance with the existing regulations, a causal relationship is recognized between disability and military service for those enlisted persons who became debilitated due to radiation. The above-mentioned persons are entitled to full benefits, including medical and sanatorium treatment. They are to receive special cards affirming their right to these benefits. They should also receive disability payments based on the same regulations that exist for the Patriotic War veterans.

"However, the issues brought up in the article definitely deserve special consideration. Therefore it is our view that the USSR Ministry of Defense should locate those former military who have been exposed to radiation and present the information to the USSR Ministry of Health. The latter will ensure that health organizations provide a thorough medical examination for them and render the necessary aid."

As we were told, the USSR Council of Ministers requested that M. Moiseyev, first deputy minister of defense, and USSR Minister of Health I. Denisov ensure the timely realization of the outlined program.

RSFSR

Republic Supreme Soviet Session Continues 7 Sep

Ryzhkov's Resignation Demanded

LD0709083790 Moscow TASS in English 0835 GMT 7 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov today demanded the immediate resignation of the Soviet Government, led by Nikolay Ryzhkov.

Speaking at the second session of the Russian Supreme Soviet today, he briefed delegates on Thursday's decision by the USSR State Committee for Prices forbidding the Moscow City Council from selling tobacco at commercial prices.

Having explained the causes of the so-called "tobacco crisis," Popov stressed that the resolute measures taken by the city council, in particular introducing commercial prices for tobacco, helped to improve the situation. He described the price committee's decision as an attempt to undermine the sovereign rights of the Moscow authorities.

When the prices were raised in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, the Council of Ministers kept silent. No sooner had these measures been passed in Russia, than it immediately decided to interfere, Popov continued.

He believes that there are obviously two sovereignties for the USSR Council of Ministers - one for the Baltic Republic "when they blow specks of dust away" and the second one for Russia, with which they do what they want.

Having stressed that pressure for Ryzhkov's resignation is mounting in the country, Popov said that the interregional deputy group will submit this demand to next week's session of the national parliament.

He called on Russian parliamentarians to support the demand and said that, if such support is forthcoming, tens of thousands of Muscovites will demonstrate next Sunday to demand the government's resignation.

'Bread Problem' Reviewed

LD0709115190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0800 GMT on 7 September carries a four-minute report by Vladimir Markin. He calls on correspondent Olga Vasilenko to describe the day's developments at the second session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet.

Vasilenko speaks on the line from the House of Soviets in Moscow. She says the RSFSR Supreme Soviet is trying to finding answers to the people's questions. Vasilenko says: "Their fellow-countrymen, their constituents, are demanding instant answers: Who is responsible for the bread and tobacco crisis? Yesterday, the deputies demanded an account from Kulik, Russia's agriculture minister. But, you know, that account was, in general, similar to what we had heard previously: figures, comparisons, and an absence of any analysis of the future situation. In practice, there were two conclusions: We could be saved only by imports, and, to restrain the bread problem, supply discipline is required. Someone started to call for Kulik's resignation. Accusations and shouting could be heard on all sides, but a rational individual emerged, and the deputy said, 'It is not Kulik who is responsible, but the system in which we are living.'

"Deputies asked who ordered maintenance work to be undertaken at the tobacco factories, causing shortages to occur. Was there not an element of sabotage here? Penalties and punishments for poor work performance were needed. A coherent system of penalties should be worked out.

"Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov, chairman of the Moscow Soviet, appealed to the deputies for support over his handling of the tobacco crisis and the resulting conflict with USSR State Committee for Prices." Vasilenko concluded by saying Popov was supported by the RSFSR deputies and by Silayev.

Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1000 GMT on 7 September carries a six-minute update report by Olga Vasilenko. Vasilenko summarizes the RSFSR Supreme Soviet's morning session. She continues, "In the afternoon the following took place: At the Supreme Soviet session the deputies voted for the appointment of two members of the government. They are Yuriy Vladimirovich Skokov—who was confirmed as first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers—and our well-known artist Yuriy Mefodiyevich Solomin, who was confirmed as RSFSR minister of culture."

Yasilenko continues, "Deputies are now working in committees and commissions, while in the hall a very interesting conference is taking place. The leadership of the Supreme Soviet and the government have invited here, to the Supreme Soviet of Russia, in Moscow, the leaders of major industrial enterprises subordinate to the Union and subordinate to the republic. A report has just been presented by Ivan Stepanovich Silayev. It is a question, as you understand, of new economic concepts on the transition to the market. Those attending the sitting are listening very closely to every speech."

Vasilenko concludes her report with a four-minute interview with Zoya Nikolayevna, a deputy from Saratov Oblast, who gave her impressions of the debate on Russian agriculture.

Popov Assails Price Control

LD0709115790 Moscow TASS in English 1143 GMT 7 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Lev Aksenov, Yuriy Kozmin, and Pavel Ostrov]

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—The Russian parliament was dissatisfied with information on measures to stabilise the market provided today by Russian Agriculture Minister Gennadiy Kulik.

Kulik said the situation with food supplies was serious and the prospect for improving the situation was bleak. His speech provided only information and lacked analysis. One of the delegates described it "as a classical example of a speech from the stagnation period."

Many deputies pointed out that the Russian government only possesses information, but lacks a well-considered programme for dealing with the food problem. The situation is aggravated by the fact that food supplies in some parts of the country get worse by the day. The government does not have a clear idea of how to get out of this predicament. The parliament refrained from passing a resolution on this issue and proposed revising the draft resolution.

Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov delivered a brief speech. Saying that the USSR State Committee for Prices forbade the Moscow council from selling tobacco at commercial prices, he described the situation as a violation of sovereign rights.

Popov said that the introduction of commercial prices helped relieve the acuteness of "tobacco crisis" in the city over the past few days. He also demanded in sharp words the resignation of the government, led by Nikolay Ryzhkov. The mayor described the price committee decision as an attempt to retain the central authorities' full control of the country's economic life.

"It is commercial prices tha can lead to the market. The Council of Ministers has conceived a market, in which it will determine prices itself," Popov continued.

Popov said that the inter-regional deputy group will press for the resignation of Ryzhkov's government at next week's session of the national parliament.

RSFSR Party Congress 4 Sep Session Reported

Program Called 'Step Backward'

PM0609151390 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Justifying the Masses' Trust"]

[Excerpts] The second stage of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Constituent Congress is continuing its work in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

On 4 September, before the debate on the keynote report began, session chairman Yu.A. Manayenkov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, submitted a proposal that the composition of the congress drafting commission be supplemented so that the draft action program can be improved. [passage omitted]

The delegates displayed undoubted interest in the speech by Moscow "Mosavtolegtrans" Production Association driver I.M. Boltovskiy. I am a candidate of philosophical sciences, he began, but this does not prevent me working and did not prevent my comrades electing me chairman of the labor collective council.

The crisis, the speaker said, has graphically shown our society's clan structure. On the one hand we have the omnipotence of the administrative elite and, on the other, the impotence of the masses. How else could it have happened that after publicly admitting the absurdity of cost-driven planning, economists put together a 12th Five-Year Plan in line with the worst cost-based yardsticks. The result has been the complete collapse of the five-year plan, a crisis in the financial system, and a shortage of raw and other materials. The scientists who have planned more than one such five-year plan are now claiming that a socialist plan is absolutely useless. No, society has been brought to the brink of the abyss not by socialism but by specific people. They have names, titles, positions. They are the ones who have frittered the people's resources on unnecessary and sometimes harmful projects.

But what is the difference between the elaboration of the market program and the compilation of that kind of project? The speaker asked that question and immediately answered it himself: The reason for this is the same old monopolism, the same old diktat from above. People will argue that the question of the market will be decided by the people's elected representatives. But, if I may say so, in what way have we restructured people's power when workers and peasants, whose voices were previously not heard in our soviets, are now not even seen there. Remember how the Law on Ownership was adopted. Despite the numerous demands for a nationwide referendum they were simply ignored.

The ideological sphere has not escaped diktat either. In this field an attempt is being made to exclude the dialectical materialist method of cognition and forcibly introduce objectivisim and pragmatism, which, as is known, are used by the bourgeoisie as an instrument for exercising their domination. Where this will lead was shown by Comrade Yakovlev's prescriptive article on "Sketches From CPSU History" [Ocherki Istorii KPSS] (KOMMUNIST No. 10). The article revises Marxism, Leninism, the October Revolution, and the Soviet path of development, which the author alleges has diverged from the course of world civilization.

The anxiety about the fate of socialism, the speaker said in conclusion, must mobilize the Russian Communist

Party to struggle for working people's power against the onslaught of the shadow economy, against the mafia. [passage omitted]

O.R. Latsis, first deputy chief editor of the journal KOMMUNIST, mounted the rostrum to give his analysis of the draft action program. Comparing the key provisions of the program statement adopted by the 28th CPSU Congress with the document submitted for discussion by the Russian party forum, he concluded that the Russian draft is, in the delegate's words, a step backward and cannot serve Communists as a guide to action in the current political situation.

At the CPSU congress, the speaker said, it was suggested that we move away from the communist outlook and the party's name or, at the opposite extreme, that we abandon the insistence on humane, democratic socialism as being allegedly social democratic. The congress retained the party's name and insistence on the communist outlook—but not in any vulgarized interpretation. Whereas the draft offered to us does not even mention the words present in the title of the party program statement [which was entitled "Toward a Humane, Democratic Socialism"].

The speaker cited another example. The CPSU congress dwelt on criticism of shortcomings in the practice of perestroyka but approved its basic course. The draft action program, in the journalist's view, proposes barely veiled allusions to the nonsocialist nature of perestroyka.

And one more detail which the delegate considers typical: The CPSU congress adopted a course aimed at economic reform—the transition to a market economy—whereas the draft action program does not even mention this task. The general conclusion made by the speaker is that fundamental work should be done on the draft and only then should it be adopted. [passage omitted]

The 28th CPSU Congress, V.M. Priulkov, chief of the USSR KGB Directorate for Moscow and Moscow Oblast, noted, took important steps along the path of overcoming the crisis in the party. An important role in this constructive process is also to be played by the young Russian Communist Party. There is every reason to believe that it will be able to perform its historic task if it becomes in practice the defender of working people's political and economic rights and the expresser of their interests.

The speaker devoted considerable attention to analyzing the political situation in the country.

The delegate spoke resolutely against the depolitization of law-enforcement agencies. The Russian Communist Party, he stressed, must take on the functions of defending civil rights and freedoms in our country in this complex perestroyka period and resolutely oppose moral and physical terror on political, ethnic, or racial grounds.

Responding to notes from delegates about the absence of CPSU and Soviet state leaders from the evening session, A.I. Lukyanov reported: At the present time M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov are taking part in a meeting between union republic government leaders and the USSR president at which concepts for the stabilization of the economy and the transition to market relations are being coordinated. When this work is completed it will obviously be possible to resolve the question of conveying the documents to the congress delegates. [passage omitted]

A Drafting Commission report on the draft regulations governing the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission was presented by commission member A.I. Seleznev. He recalled the task set by Lenin—making the Control Commission an instrument of party and proletarian conscience. At that time the Russian Communist Party had the boldness to talk about its own ailments, including the isolation of some officials from the masses and the pursuit of privileges. Later control organs lost their independence, becoming executors of the orders of party committees and even individual officials.

The development of party democracy, the speaker stressed, demands the restructuring of our control organs. The election of commission members and adoption of regulations on it are among the most important factors in the Russian Communist Party's organizational development.

What should this commission be like? Answering this question, the speaker listed several supremely important qualities: It should be an independent commission elected by a congress, accountable only to a congress or conference, and entitled to check the work of any party organ or any party official. The commission will perform the function of defending Communists' rights, honor, and dignity and ensuring the purity of the party's ranks. Its work must be conducted publicly.

The organizational committee preparing the congress received a considerable number of businesslike proposals on the draft. Many of them have been taken into account. The Drafting Commission member spelled out his view on the comments and additions put forward. In particular, it is proposed that the party's control organ be called the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission. The speaker asked delegates to examine the various opinions.

The congress delegates did not object to the chairman's proposal that the Control Commission regulations between discussed at the same time as the keynote report. [passage omitted]

Prokofyev Delivers Address

PM0609105190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Speech by Yu.A. Prokofyev, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, delivered at RSFSR Communist Party Founding Congress 4 September]

[Text] Comrade Delegates! In discussing the future of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party we must proceed on the basis of political analysis and the real prevailing situation, and the trends in its development are fraught with political catastrophe. Now is not the time for lengthy speeches about what perestroyka has given us all. The gains are incontestable, and any return to the past in unacceptable. But it is dangerous not to notice the processes which, in the graphic expression of political scientist Aleksandr Zinovyev, could result in "catastroyka." Specifically it is a question of society's loss of even the minimum stability without which no state can exist. Is this not why the syndrome of sovereignization, whereby even a city rayon declares water resources and the atmosphere to be its own exclusive property, has become so widespread? The economy is in total disarray, and the people are forced to wait in endless lines for products in short supply. The country is shaken by interethnic conflicts. As of the end of August 1990, over 900 people had been killed during the period of perestroyka as a result of regionally and ethnically motivated clashes and 8,500 had been wounded. We have around 700,000 refugees. Forecasts indicate that, unless this process is stabilized, the figure may increase to 1 million by the end of the year.

A power vacuum has emerged. In order to rectify the situation, what is needed is not only time, but also the real possibility of controlling processes, but today no one at any level has this. A tangible danger has emerged that democratization will be merely an episode in the country's history along the road from the administrative-edict system, via chaos and disorder, to dictatorship.

The anticommunist campaign has been supplemented by antisocialist sentiments. Matters have reached the point where socialist ideas are being declared to be incompatible with the development of world civilization. These endeavors have caused deep astonishment among socialists abroad, including those who head the governments of perfectly civilized Western states. They bluntly say that our country may be a breeding ground for antisocialist sentiments on a world scale.

The time has come when we must clearly define the lines beyond which we are not entitled to surrender our positions. In this connection I have to mention the anti-Lenin campaign, which in a number of instances verges directly on barbarism incompatible with our wish to form part of a civilized society. I am against the canonization of any image, including that of Lenin. However, I urge that the most complex problems of our history be discussed and analyzed in a worthy tone. Civilized people against barbarism—that is a slogan which must unite everyone if we want to preserve democracy.

The actions of our opponents, who are doing everything to remove the party from society's political structure, are clear. Their intentions are visible to the naked eye, so to speak. While destabilizing the situation and operating on the principle of "The worse, the better," they are trying to pin responsibility for this on the party, which is now deprived of the possibility of controlling processes. And then they will unleash terror against communists and establish a regime of authoritarian power on the crest of the wave of terror.

It has to be admitted that the situation is extremely complex. The party's action program must match the exceptional nature of the situation. But what do we find? The version submitted for discussion is essentially nothing more than a collection of modern-sounding social science concepts uninformed by people's vital needs and interests and the problems they run up against every day. The level of theoretical elaboration of the document as submitted is not satisfactory. It is contradictory and eclectic. You even get the impression that the authors have tried to reconcile the irreconcilable and to suit various interests. The perestroyka phraseology in it is clearly at odds with the positions on specific problems of the reform of society. And it is no accident that the publication of the draft program not only failed to diminish the flow of criticism of the newly formed RSFSR Communist Party in Moscow but actually intensified it. Times are indeed changing, as people are saying, and woe to those who are failing to change with them.

We cannot be suited by a document containing no specific actions and setting out no specific, realistic pledges by the party before society regarding the implementation of political and economic reforms and the resolution of Russia's social and humanitarian problems.

What do I mean, what could be said in this connection, for instance, about the tactics of the party's political work in conditions of the transition to the market? Destatization of the economy will inevitably lead to serious political changes, so we cannot be indifferent to how and in whose interests the privatization of means of production is implemented. Our aim must be to ensure that it is implemented in the people's interests. Working people, workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia, not possessors of black market money and mafia clans and groups, must be the owners of factories, plants, kolkhozes, and cooperatives. And the party which defends working people's interests must say how this is to be done, instead of repeating like an incantation talk of commitment to all forms of ownership and to the policy of a socialist market. The prestige of a particular party will be determined by its ability to help people adapt to new conditions. Schools for modern production organizers and for the retraining of worker and engineer cadres and skill centers for new economic management methods must be set up under the auspices of party organizations, with their participation, and with the involvement of party funds.

Party organizations must not lose the initiative in forming charitable foundations and in organizing social assistance to low-income people.

In the sphere of nationalities policy the Russian party must show concern for the fate of the Russian-speaking

population in republics and autonomous formations. It is not enough simply to proclaim this concern, confining ourselves to appeals; practical and urgent action is needed. I would regard it as advisable to instruct RSFSR Supreme Soviet Communist deputies to raise these questions as a matter of urgency in Russia's parliament.

The congress must also speak out on extremely acute international problems, in particular the Persian Gulf crisis, which our state may be involved in eliminating. There are already calls in certain mass media for our soldiers to be sent to the region. The party's position must be unambiguously defined: No soldier must be sent to any region under any guise. (Applause.) That that is not a command, it is the position of a political party.

It is impermissible for the party to issue orders to the state. That is an immutable demand. But it is also impermissible for the responsibility for attractively populist but administratively incompetent decisions made by the state authorities in various RSFSR cities and rayons and at the level of the central leadership to continue to be pinned on the party. These and similar principled points must fill the Action Program with content.

All social and age groups of Russians—women, young people, pensioners, workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia—must see the party as a support and must really sense its support. Everyone must find in the party's program his own future. But we must not slide into handing out promises that we know cannot be kept, which unfortunately is a feature of the proposed version of the document in a number of cases. This particularly applies to questions of ecology, the protection of historical and cultural monuments, and other social problems.

It is not clear from the draft program how the Russian Communist Party is going to take part in resolving these tasks and how its actions will differ from those of other social and political organizations. At the moment any of them could put its name to the collection of general phrases.

We cannot allow the activity of the RSFSR Communist Party to be discredited because action is drowned in perestroyka phraseology. It is this that determines the position of a considerable proportion of the delegation of Moscow's Communists at the present congress. Yes, we advocated a later date for holding the second stage of the founding congress, guided by a desire to elaborate a realistic action program. All Communists in the republic ought to have taken not a purely formal but a real part in this. But it is too late to speak of this now. The congress has met and is in session. Therefore I make the following proposal: that the program not be adopted now, even if it is corrected in the light of the opinions of the congress delegates. It must be elaborated in the light of the opinion of all party organizations of the RSFSR Communist Party if we really want to implement the power of the party masses. The second congress of the republic's Communist Party should be convened in the first half of next year in order to adopt the program and statutes. It would be advisable to form commissions at our congress to elaborate these documents. The draft documents should be the subject of a broad republic partywide debate, and in the meantime we should be guided by the documents of the 28th party congress.

Unfortunately, fate has allotted the RSFSR Communist Party practically no time to find its feet. Any incorrect, ill-considered, erroneous step both in elaborating the program documents and in electing the leading organs and leaders would be like death for it. We must be extremely sensitive to sentiments in party organization and respond properly to them. (Applause.)

Polozkov Attends News Conference

PM0609132890 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 6 Sep 90 p 1

[Report by V. Shchedrin under the rubric "At the CPSU Central Committee press center" on the press conference given in the evening of first day of Russian Communist Party congress by its first secretary I. Polozkov and other delegates: "First Secretary Answers Questions"]

[Text] The topic of unity and consolidation was prominent not only in the report of the first secretary of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee, but also at the press conference held after the first day of the Russian Communist Party Congress' work, at which I. Polozkov arrived late in the evening together with delegates from Sverdlovsk, Orel Oblast, Moscow, Nizhniy Novgorod, and North Ossetia.

The participants in the press conference answered numerous questions from Soviet and foreign journalists. We cite some of them.

Question: At the congress we saw Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, who spoke highly of the first secretary of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee as an individual. If Ligachev is nominated to leading organs of the Russian Communist Party, what will your reaction be?

I. Polozkov: I do not know where and how Ligachev expressed his attitude to me. But I think that, as a pensioner, he enjoys good health, great activeness, and energy, and he will find a sphere of activity in which to apply his efforts, knowledge, and experience. I do not think that since retiring on pension he has put forward his candidacy, or given permission for it to be put forward, for any of the Russian Communist Party's leading bodies.

Question: What will your position be if the question of holding new elections for the Russian Communist Party first secretary is raised?

I. Polozkov: I do not know who initiated this question—the mass media, or representatives of various currents or forces. But it has come up earlier, and also came up on the first day of the congress. This is my answer: If the

congress delegates make such a decision, I will consider it my sacred duty. That is the only attitude I can take to any decision of the congress.

RSFSR Party Congress 5 Sep Session Reported

Day's Events Summarized

PM0609161990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report: "Second Stage of RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress"]

[Text] The second stage of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Congress continued work in Moscow's Kremlin Palace of Congresses on 5 September 1990.

At the morning sitting, chaired by I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, delegates discussed nominations to the post of chairman of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission.

Then the congress began examining the candidates for election to the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and Central Control Commission.

The afternoon sitting was chaired by Yu.A. Manayenkov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Speakers in the debates on the main report were: N.I. Sapozhnikov, first secretary of Udmurt CPSU Oblast Committee; O.I. Chabak, lathe operator at the "Gorkovskiy Avtomobilnyy Zavod" Production Association; P.V. Zhilin, chairman of the Kalinin collective farm in Rostov Oblast's Remontnenskiy Rayon; A.O. Barinov, head of department at the Chita State Medical Institute; V.V. Yelagin, first secretary of the RSFSR Lenin Communist Youth League Central Committee; M.D. Severyanov, senior scientific associate at the Krasnoyarsk Engineering Construction Institute; A.V. Popelyshko, party committee secretary at the V.I. Lenin Metallurgical Production Association, Kuybyshev Oblast; A.V. Godunov, senior scientific associate at the No. 10729 military unit; and Yu.P. Belov, secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Oblast Committee.

At the evening sitting I.P. Vorobyev, chairman of the Tellers Commission, announced the results of the secret ballot held in the recess. By a majority vote, N.S. Stolyarov, senior teacher of the Yu.A. Gagarin Air Force Academy, was elected chairman of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission.

The debates went on. Yu.M. Slobodkin, chairman of the Solnechnogorskiy People's Court, Moscow Oblast, and M.A. Gasanov, team leader at the Dagestan electrothermal equipment plant, took part.

At the end of the sitting there was a vote on the elections of members of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and Central Control Committee.

Polozkov on Party Organization

PM0609072990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "On the RSFSR Communist Party Action Program. Report to the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress by I.K. Polozkov," first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on 4 September]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! Numerous events have occurred since the first stage of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party constituent congress ended its work, and they impart a fresh hue to the second stage of our congress. There can be no argument that the 28th CPSU Congress is paramount among them. It provided an in-depth analysis of the situation in the country and the world, and it made it possible to better perceive the causes of the crisis in our society; both of these things are rooted deep in the past and are associated with major mistakes and blunders in the last few years.

The congress reaffirmed our commitment to the socialist choice and the communist future and advocated an advance toward a humane and democratic socialism and a society whose attention is focused on the specific interests of tangible, living people. It proposed a package of emergency measures for extricating ourselves from the crisis, overcoming interethnic and social tension, and strengthening law and order. Credit is due to the congress for mapping out ways for the deepening of political reform and the party's renewal.

We share the assessments made by the 28th congress. Energetic and decisive actions are needed today in order to finally put an end to the adverse development of events, stabilize the situation, and ensure its recovery.

The growing confrontation between political forces has become dangerous. Some leaders of emerging parties and movements are trying to establish themselves on the crest of a wave of nihilistic negation and the overthrow of constitutional foundations and of state and political institutions.

Attempts are being made to discredit the organs of power and to disband the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet. Attempts are being made to present the CPSU as an inert conservative force which is alien to reformative transformations and renewal.

It is from these selfsame positions that the first stage of the RSFSR Communist Party constituent congress is being criticized. There is no question that everything can and must be subjected to thorough analysis. It is a pity, however, that our opponents are unwilling to objectively appraise the documents that were adopted, ignoring the fact that many of the constituent congress' principled ideas regarding the economic and political reform and

the strengthening of Russia's sovereignty were confirmed by the 28th CPSU Congress.

The task of this stage of our congress is to complete the organizational formation of the RSFSR Communist Party and to define the strategy and tactics of its actions. "We cannot rest satisfied," V.I. Lenin said, "if our tactical slogans are forged in the wake of events or adapted to suit events after the fact. We must strive to ensure that these slogans lead us forward, illuminate our onward path, and elevate us above the immediate tasks of the present" ("Complete Collected Works," Vol. 11 p. 141).

The RSFSR Communist Party firmly declares in the draft action program which we have to examine that it advocates a decisive reorganization of Russia's society, revival of its statehood, culture, and national traditions, raising the level of people's prosperity, and strengthening the friendship and cooperation between peoples in the republic and the entire Soviet Union.

Russia's Communists can say this with clear conscience and an open heart: Our party is being reborn as an inalienable part of the working people, as the flesh of all workers' flesh. It is also being reborn as spokesman for the will and fundamental interests of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia, the interests of employees and honest cooperative members, the interests of students and pensioners, of all who earn their own living. This is our principled stance. This is where we stand, and this is where we will firmly remain.

I.

Comrades! Our republic is living through complex times. Economic ties are being broken, the consumer market is disintegrating before our very eyes, the people's living standards are declining. The hopes for the economy's swift recovery and upsurge, which inspired people at the beginning of perestroyka, are being replaced by bitter disappointment and apathy.

Where do we perceive the causes of the economic crisis which will ultimately bring perestroyka to the brink of collapse? Primarily in the complexity of the transition period itself, whose contradictions are getting increasingly acute. Many legal and practical questions, associated with bringing into force the legislation on land, ownership, and local self-management, are still awaiting solution. The multiplicity of ownership forms appears to exist as a juridical norm, but is absent as an economic reality. The solution of emerging problems is being delayed at all levels of legislative and executive power. Finally, the radical economic reform is coming up against psychological barriers. People lack adequate guidelines regarding the opportunities for effective utilization of different forms of ownership and cannot perceive the benefits of the new methods of economic activity.

Other causes can be identified. In my view, however, the following is the main factor. Having correctly chosen our strategic course, we failed to ensure interconnected advance along all avenues. Many decisions, while correct in themselves, proved to be out of tune with the processes occurring in real life. To put it simply, much was said but little got done.

Numerous failures occurred during the perestroyka period through the lack of accurate forecasts for even the immediate future. Blunders intensify the lack of confidence in central organs of power.

The Russian Federation's prolonged commitment to deliveries of oil, gas, and ferrous and nonferrous metals into Union stocks and to raw materials extraction sharply curtailed the opportunities for comprehensive development. Zones with a critical social situation, zones of ecological disaster, developed in the republic.

Russia's peoples pin their hopes for social prosperity on the RSFSR's sovereignty and the acquisition of economic autonomy by the republic. We support the principled orientation of the "Declaration on RSFSR Sovereignty" adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies.

The Russian Federation, enjoying the rights of a sovereign state within the USSR's structure, must itself determine the direction and priorities of the development of its productive forces and its investment policy. It is its exclusive right to autonomously decide questions of economic activity, the population's employment, taxation, price formation, and the formation and utilization of material and financial resources.

It must build economic relations with the USSR and the other Union republics on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. Foreign economic activity must also fall within the republic's powers.

The RSFSR Communist Party proceeds from the premise that the efforts by labor collectives must be aimed at improving end results.

Enterprises' successful operations alone can become a reliable source for supplementing local budgets, providing funds for the construction of cultural and consumer service projects, and improving the environment.

At the same time, it is necessary to thoroughly work out the political and social aspects of economic sovereignty. This is where the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and all party organizations must give some thought to measures to neutralize the possible negative consequences associated with the trends toward economic separatism.

It is a paradox but, while striving for integration into the world economic system, we are at the same time indiscriminately breaking even well established production links. Such a policy is foolish and extremely shortsighted. Historical experience and world practice prove that not a single republic, not even Russia, could extricate itself from the crisis by itself, without profound social shocks.

The 28th party congress advocated transition to a regulated market. In this context, it is necessary to speak of the serious confusion prevailing among a certain section of Communists, a confusion which is expressed by the simplistic formula of either socialism or market. Such a presentation of the question is illogical and destructive. We are already living in a new economic space, but its formation is inconsistent and at times spontaneous. It is incumbent upon Communists to elaborate clear-cut political approaches toward this problem.

We advocate man's economic emancipation, economic freedom for labor collectives, and multiplicity of ownership forms within the framework of the socialist choice. When determining our view of the transition to the market, we must also provide an exhaustive answer to this question: What is the social price which people will have to pay for this transition, how will losses be compensated? After all, the market will bring about—especially during the transition period—high prices, the threat of unemployment, and a tendency toward property and social stratification.

It is incumbent upon the state not to allow any sharp decline of the people's living standards and to undertake the social protection of Soviet people, primarily the low-income strata. Everything must be done to ensure that the population's losses are minimal and to act openly, in an atmosphere of glasnost, and in conditions of trust.

While abandoning economic management by edict, the party has no right to abandon the elaboration of its own economic policy and its implementation through Communists. Today, when we are setting priority tasks in the economic sphere, I would like to draw the congress' attention to several key issues. They must be clearly formulated in our action program.

It is well known that a program for transition to a market economy is now being prepared. The relevant proposals were recently discussed in detail at a joint sitting of the Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation.

As you may recall, the USSR president declared that work on these proposals is approaching completion, and the agreed document will be sent to all republics' Supreme Soviets and to the USSR Supreme Soviet. A report on the concept of economic reform was delivered by I.S. Silayev at yesterday's sitting of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and the elaboration of its fundamental provisions has now started in commissions. What is the general perception of the question of transition to the market? Primarily that there is no alternative to it and that this transition can be implemented only within the framework of an all-Union market. A disintegration of the national economic mechanism is not in the interests of Union republics.

I already noted that the 28th CPSU Congress adopted a lengthy resolution on the question of the market and that this resolution, just like the decisions by the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, must serve as a guideline for appraising the state program. We will offer utmost support for decisions aimed at strengthening the country's economy and raising the people's prosperity.

The paramount problem is to stabilize the consumer market. The amount of unsatisfied demand in the republic is somewhere in the region of 100 billion rubles. It is necessary to support all who boost the output of consumer goods and develop the services sphere. It makes sense to elaborate suitable benefits for them, varying according to the specific features of each of Russia's regions, to transform part of state enterprises in the services sphere into cooperative ones on a voluntary basis, to set up joint stock corporations, and to be bolder in embarking on economic innovations in the working people's interests.

Other decisions—strategic ones—are also necessary. Bearing in mind that more than one-third of all consumer goods in the republic are being brought in from outside, it is necessary to change the structure of production so as to ensure that the proportion represented by consumer goods in the structure of its social product is doubled.

For this purpose, it is important to accelerate the adoption of a state program for the conversion of defense industry enterprises. There is also need for a law on conversion providing social protection for workers in these enterprises and effective utilization of the defense industry in the people's interests.

The most painful question concerns food supplies. It is impossible to remedy the situation without major state measures to strengthen the material base of the agrarian complex, without reorganizing production relations in the countryside and establishing diverse forms of ownership and economic organization.

Russia's Communists are in favor of the peasants' right to choose their economic management conditions by themselves. A place will be found for peasants' small-holdings, private farmers, and major collective or state enterprises within the framework of a mixed rural economy. It is important not to dictate but to be guided by the peasant's interests and help him in all possible ways. Life itself will prove what is more efficient and more advantageous for people.

Here is something that I especially wish to tell you. We must spare no efforts in the pursuit of full economic autonomy for kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms]. I have no doubt that, having gained such freedom, the collective farms will succeed in properly revealing their tremendous but unutilized potential.

This year's rich harvest demonstrated yet again the weakness of the agrarian sector's material and technical base. The government has been forced to resort to emergency measures. The countryside needs immediate

assistance, especially from city dwellers. Unless this assistance is forthcoming, the cities themselves will be the first to suffer.

In this context, I would like to draw attention to the growing contradictions between town and countryside. They are so acute in some regions that they threaten to develop into social conflicts.

Meanwhile, the experience of party organizations in Belgorod, Orel, and Lipetsk shows that it is possible to find mutually acceptable solutions and to remedy the situation in the consumer market, to switch sponsorship assistance to a mutually advantageous economic basis.

Housing is Russia's most acute problem. What are the ways to solve it? We believe that the main reserve lies in the redistribution of resources from the production to the social sphere. Tens of billions of rubles and a vast quantity of materials are frozen in incomplete construction projects while nearly 10 million families—almost one in every five—in the Russian Federation are awaiting improved housing conditions. Meanwhile, comrades, even though work on almost 30,000 construction projects was frozen, 65,000 new construction projects were launched in the current year alone. This is yet another example of senseless waste! It is incumbent upon Communists in the government and local organs of power and upon the leaders of enterprises and organizations to finally bring order in this sphere.

All opportunities must be utilized to substantially expand housing construction financed by the population's funds and to significantly increase the production of construction materials and their sale through the trade network, including sales to peasants at preferential prices. During the transition to gradual formation of a housing market and free exchange of apartments, it is necessary to provide a system of compensation for low-income families to make up for any possible price rises for housing and municipal services.

We must insist on an accelerated elaboration of housing legislation. It is important for it to provide that the disabled, war and labor veterans, servicemen's families, teachers, physicians, and workers in science and culture should have equal opportunities with workers in production enterprises to improve their housing conditions. It is necessary to boost the state's participation in the provision of housing for these categories of the population, which make up the bulk of those on local soviets' waiting lists for housing.

II.

Comrades! The objective process of the development of democracy has brought our society to the multiparty system. Each political organization ensures its influence primarily through its representatives on organs of power.

Could the Russian Federation's Communist Party find its proper place in this process? Yes! But provided it masters the political methods of work, launches a constructive dialogue with different social movements, and plays an active part in soviets, primarily in congresses of people's deputies and the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Unfortunately, the initial results of the Russian Communist deputies' activity shows that the new approach is difficult to master. The hastily created group of Communists proved unable to properly organize its work. The lack of coordinated actions was noticeable during the sessions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and of many local soviets.

While on the subject of political and parliamentary work, activity in soviets at different levels today is one of the main targets and must be among the first to be mastered. This is because the people's confidence in the party will grow only in proportion with the extent to which the party actually manages to master the skill of working in representative organs and among the broad masses of working people, the extent to which it manages to attract the majority of voters. This is envisaged in our action program.

During the last elections, many party committees failed to rally their supporters and to put forward an agreed election platform. Party organizations often left Communist candidates—workers, kolkhoz members, members of the intelligentsia, women, and young people—without support.

Critically interpreting the election results, it is necessary to prepare proposals to improve the election laws. The sharp drop of workers' and peasants' representation on soviets demands resolute measures precluding the emergence of a similar situation in the future. It is also necessary to eliminate unnecessary obstacles to the nomination of candidates and to give some thought to the possibility of voting in electoral districts using lists put forward by different parties.

It must be clearly realized that the only path to power leads through electoral districts, through free and honest competition with other sociopolitical forces. It is also necessary to get closer to people everywhere, to create ramified structures at places of residence taking the form of party, debating, and deputies' clubs and associations and committees in support of Communist deputies.

All creative forces in the party must assist the groups of Communists in soviets. Let us get Communist deputies used to the taste of meaningful activity on the soviets; let us teach them the methods of political struggle. It will evidently be necessary to set up groups of consultants who could offer skilled help in the elaboration of draft legislative documents, as well as to create within the party a system for training Communists in parliamentary activity.

It is important to consolidate the constructive forces in soviets at all levels, not to end up in self-imposed isolation, and to pursue the achievement of common

goals. This work must begin without delay, already during the period of work by the republic Supreme Soviet's current session.

Comrades, the political map of the country and the republic is getting increasingly complex. About 20 parties and movements have set up all-Union structures. More than 40 organizations in the RSFSR are claiming the role of political parties. Some of them set themselves the goal of excluding the CPSU from political life and getting hold of the reigns of power. The general words about support for perestroyka in their documents conceal an aggressive trend toward rejection of the socialist idea, and these documents contain calls for restoration of the capitalist system.

In these conditions, the RSFSR Communist Party must resolutely get rid of ideological and organizational erosion, of inaction and lack of confidence, it must more swiftly overcome its excessive preoccupation with internal party problems and concentrate its efforts on specific deeds in the interests of working people, the interests of Russia's rebirth.

Today we declare yet again that the paramount task of Russia's Communists is to aim for civic accord in the republic, to uphold the political, economic, and social interests of working people, to be always with them, and to be their loyal protectors. This is the only basis on which our Communist Party will manage to boost its prestige.

The workers' and peasants' movements, which are being revived in Russia, are becoming an increasingly significant political factor. It is hard to overestimate their influence on the political situation, and we call on Russia's Communists to play an active part in their work.

Russia's Communists will have to build relations with the Komsomol [Communist Youth League] and other young people's organizations on the basis of new principles of partnership. Society today is seriously worried about the situation among young people. Crime is on the upswing, and there is growing lack of spirituality, moral barrenness, and consumerist mentality. Young people are drawn into interethnic conflicts, egged on to join mass disturbances, and persuaded to get involved in the shadow economy.

Major efforts are needed to overcome the antisocialist moods and new false stereotypes now prevailing among some young people. The RSFSR Communist Party will support the desire of progressively oriented youth organizations and will assist the promotion of their leaders to all structures of social and state life. The party's fate and the country's future will largely depend on this.

The RSFSR Communist Party advocates active cooperation with the women's movement, the veterans' associations, the other unsponsored organizations of working people, and the organs of social self-management. We are in favor of women being fittingly and fairly represented on party and state organs.

The course toward civic accord also envisages new relations between party and church. The mistrust and lack of understanding between Communists and believers must recede into the past. Russia's Communists will do everything to sweep aside the negative historical accretions and arrive at mutual understanding with the church in humanitarian and charitable work.

It is important to note that some of the newly emerged political forces in the republic are actively penetrating the church structures, seeking backing and support there. The politicization of the religious sphere could lead to grave social conflicts on ethnic-religious grounds. We call upon political parties to refrain from exploiting the moral prestige of religion for their own interests.

Recognizing the USSR's right to build and utilize the Armed Forces in accordance with current legislation, the RSFSR Communist Party deems it necessary to actively assist the implementation of military reform.

The Communists are in favor of strengthening ties and trust between the Army and society's civilian sector. The law, the state, and the local organs of power must ensure social protection for servicemen and block any attempts to slander or infringe the dignity and honor of the Armed Forces and the law enforcement organs.

I would like to emphasize once more that, in its political activity, the RSFSR Communist Party will persistently strive for society's consolidation on the basis of real deeds and solution of immediate problems. This is the real aim of the Russian Communist Party's action program submitted to the congress.

III.

Comrades! One of the alarming realities of our time is the crisis of statehood, closely associated with the exacerbation of the nationalities question. It was a year ago that the CPSU platform on nationalities policy emphasized that the former forms of functioning of both the USSR and the Russian Federation had largely outlived their usefulness.

Life imperiously demands new internal state ties and relations. An expression of this demand was also provided by the declarations on sovereignty adopted by Union republics, followed by many autonomous republics. What could be called a "revolution of sovereignties" is advancing, spreading to autonomous formations at all levels, to krays, oblasts, rayons, and even rural soviets. This process is painful and, unfortunately, rather costly.

There are many places where inability to control the situation has already become a bitter reality which has had a tragic effect on people's lives. There was no way we could have avoided expressing in the action program our attitude toward the refugees problem and our vision of its solution.

It is well known that the First Congress of People's Deputies laid down the foundations of the republic's political sovereignty and the equality of its peoples within a renewed federation. It was at the first stage of its constituent congress that the Communist Party declared total support for the ideas and goals proclaimed in that document, as well as readiness to work for the sake of achieving them. But sovereignty should have nothing in common with the republic's self-isolation from the USSR's affairs and concerns.

The destinies of the USSR peoples are inseparable. Russia can become flourishing and strong only as a member of a single union state. The opposite also holds true—the Union can successfully advance along the path of progress only if Russia is strong and flourishing. We proceed from the premise that it is necessary and possible to find a form of unification which would enable the peoples of all republics to develop freely while enjoying the benefits of being citizens of a great power.

This approach is fair toward Union republics and toward Russia's autonomous formations. Each one of the peoples would only gain from the status of being a subject of both the Russian Federation and the USSR. This stems from deep-rooted historical traditions and takes current realities into account.

The unity of interests of Russia's peoples, their lasting ties and good relations, have strengthened over the centuries. These relations must be given a modern state-legal form today. This is why the RSFSR Communist Party advocates that, in parallel with the Union treaty, a similar treaty operates within the framework of the Russian Federation, which should become a voluntary association of sovereign peoples on the basis of a consciously made decision.

It is obviously necessary to continue supporting the public's demand about refusing to draw the distinction between Union republics and autonomous republics. As for the extent of their rights and prerogatives, our view is that here it is necessary to proceed from the need to mobilize a territory's resources in the best possible way, to effectively solve ethnic-cultural problems, and to sensibly combine regional, all-Russian, and all-Union interests. These approaches need not necessarily be identical for all autonomous formations. They can and must be determined via talks on the basis of referendums.

It is up to the soviets to directly organize the process of talks. Party committees will of course exert their influence on the progress of talks through Communist deputies. But the main task of party organizations is to shape a healthy public opinion and help people develop an unprejudiced view of the sovereignty problem. It is incumbent upon Communists to take this simple truth to the masses: It is impossible to treat national statehood lightly and rashly in the conditions of a multinational country.

We cannot but be alarmed by attempts to solve the questions of union and autonomous republics' sovereignty on the basis of biased perceptions of the indigenous nation's interests, ignoring the fact that people of different nationalities have lived together for centuries. Generally speaking, the desire to solve ethnic problems at the expense of other peoples' interests leads to major misfortunes and has to be paid for in blood and suffering. It is the Communists' task to prevent this!

We are also bound to give some thought to the extent to which our republic's specific interests are fully and comprehensively backed by the Soviet state's foreign policy. The essence of these specific interests is that, from the cultural and historical viewpoint, the Russian Federation is tied to both the West and the East. I think that their experiences must be creatively mastered and assimilated for the sake of the republic's accelerated progress. I believe that Communists working in foreign policy departments must give more attention to this avenue of activity.

IV.

Comrades! Perestroyka has sharply boosted the demand for intellect and professional competence. In Russia, where the departmental diktat was especially merciless, the unique diversity of cultures, the originality of ethnic traditions and ways of life, and the very environment were barbarically destroyed in the course of reckless economic activity. The Russian Federation ranks last in the country in terms of the proportion represented by expenditure on education in its budget. The RSFSR is the only republic without its own academy of sciences. The majority of museums, libraries, and other cultural institutions are in a pitiful state.

The peoples' desire for spiritual rebirth has excited society. There is growing awareness that it will be impossible to get out of the economic and social crisis without overcoming the spiritual crisis, without getting rid of the present lack of political culture and extremism.

The RSFSR Communist Party will strive for priority development of education, science, and culture. We call on all intellectual forces in Russia to get actively involved in solving this nationwide task on the basis of creative freedom. In this process, there can be no room for monopoly of the truth, which some people today are trying to claim.

The RSFSR Communist Party perceives its task as being—without any interference in the activity of pedagogical, scientific, and creative workers, but in cooperation with them—to create within society favorable conditions to promote knowledge, professionalism, and high cultural standards.

We also deem it important for Communists to participate in the elaboration of state policy in the sphere of education and the development of science and culture. The main point here is to create a legal basis and state

guarantees for priority development of the spiritual sphere within a renewed system of social relations.

The market mechanisms now being introduced are changing the mutual relations between teaching establishments, scientific organizations, and cultural institutions and the organs of power and economic management and labor collectives. The switch of the center of gravity of socioeconomic activity from Union to republic and local level makes it more difficult to secure finances and resources for the spiritual sphere from a single state source. This places the so-called nonproduction sphere in a difficult situation. Therefore, it seems expedient that budget appropriations from republic and local sources be used to finance the setting up of normative standards for financing teaching establishments, fundamental research, and cultural institutions. Additional funds could be attracted on contractual basis.

In this context, we deem it necessary to use Communist deputies to promote legislative initiatives for the elaboration of mechanisms providing legal and economic protection of the spiritual sphere against market elements and rash commercialization. A law on the protection of morality should be singled out among these acts. Unbridled propaganda of total moral license is a threat to future young generations.

In the conditions of real political pluralism and struggle between ideological streams, there is growing and deliberate slander of the Communist Party and the socialist choice as a whole. As I already mentioned, this must be actively countered in soviets and social organizations, in production and in places of residence. But it is equally important to profoundly interpret the current processes and to elaborate correct strategy and tactics of socialist renewal and effective ideological and sociopolitical programs.

Of course, an invaluable contribution can be made here by the party press. This is why we must more swiftly set up our own mass media, our own newspapers and journals. We must show concern for encouraging new forms of editorial and publishing activity and for recruiting talented journalists.

Constant work is needed to develop people's world philosophy and humanitarian culture on the basis of mastering Marxist-Leninist methodology and the entire wealth of contemporary social thought. A party upholding the scientific approaches toward the organization of the social structure is bound to set an example of such activity.

In this context I would like to emphasize the especially topical nature of the 28th congress' directive on the active utilization of the party's intellectual potential and of the material base of the CPSU's scientific and teaching establishments to develop and implement major programs in the sphere of education, science, and culture. The forms of party organizations' participation in this work could be most diverse. Specific measures in this regards are envisaged in the Russian Communists' action program.

In our view, it would be expedient to set up political institutes for the study of public opinion and to support social important scientific initiatives in the sphere of education and science, primarily in the sphere of the humanities and advanced technologies. Other measures must also be considered.

In the sphere of culture, attention must be given especially to the institution of new literary-artistic and sociopolitical publications, bringing together authors committed to the principles of socialist renewal; to the utilization of sociopolitical centers for launching mass cultural and enlightenment work among working people; to participation in the restoration of historical and cultural monuments.

It seems that each republic, kray, and oblast party organization would be able to find its own directions for the application of efforts. Party organizations in the collectives of teaching establishments and scientific and cultural institutions are called upon to play their role in a new fashion. They must establish themselves as an influential political force.

The strengthening of their prestige could be promoted by the councils of party organization secretaries. The pooling of the scientific and theoretical potential of Communists in higher education and scientific institutions made it possible to elaborate proposals, many of which were included in the 28th CPSU Congress documents and were used during preparations for our congress. This experience must also be utilized in the future.

You know, comrades, that ecology is our special pain today. People in many of Russia's regions breathe poisoned air and drink bad water. Forests are dying and vanishing; rivers are getting shallower and drying up. Chernobyl brought a dreadful calamity to us as well. Vast spaces were radioactively contaminated. Russians are extremely worried about safety at nuclear power stations. They demand that the risk of nuclear and chemical accidents be ruled out. Responding to the people's pain, comrades, we are bound to make the struggle for environmental recovery one of our party's main goals.

V.

Comrades, the RSFSR Communist Party has been constituted. This is a fact. Its formation was not the result of directive instructions from the top or of "apparatus scheming" as our opponents are trying to describe it. Quite the contrary. It was the logical result of the profound changes occurring in the mentality of grassroot party members. It was they who became the true founders of the Russian Communist Party. This desire of theirs was supported and approved by the 28th CPSU Congress.

There are, however, forces which are very reluctant to allow the organizational and ideological rallying of Russia's Communists. We perceive this and are aware why it is happening.

M.S. Gorbachev has emphasized in his speeches that parties always and everywhere have been established and have operated as instruments in the struggle for power, as a mechanism for transforming the interests of different classes, social groups, and forces in the state's real politics. And we say openly that the RSFSR Communist Party will struggle for Communists' broad representation on soviets, striving to incorporate the working people's interests in the policy of RSFSR state organs by legitimate methods. This is one of our party's main tasks today.

We are also prepared to cooperate with all progressive forces in the Russian Federation for the sake of genuine renewal in all spheres of our republic's social life.

A really major and vitally important question for us is the question of the Russian Communist Party's position and role within the united CPSU. It was repeatedly discussed at the first stage of the congress, and we arrived at the joint opinion that it is necessary to find ways to form the Russian Communist Party which would not weaken the CPSU but would actually strengthen it. We will maintain close contacts with Union republic communist parties so as to uphold the party's and the country's unity through joint efforts and to counter separatist, nationalist, and splittist trends within society.

We perceive the RSFSR Communist Party as a legitimate heir of the cause of many generations of Russian Communists, representatives of democratic thinking in Russia, and creators of our people's unique spiritual wealth. We affirm our commitment to October's choice, to the socialist idea cleansed of the distortions and accretions of past years and open to the achievements by our own and the world's social thinking.

I am convinced that we have no right to reject the ideals of scientific socialism and our history. To forget them would mean becoming a party without origins or tribe, without historical roots, and consequently without a future. At the same time, however, we must not—like idolaters—hold onto formulas that have outlived their usefulness. Life dictates its own demands, and the party must heed them and respond to them.

We perceive the RSFSR Communist Party's creation not as a mechanical act of fusing the republic's party organizations but as the formation of a new and modern political force operating within the CPSU's structure on the basis of single program and statutory documents. It was only natural that, taking part in the work of the 28th CPSU Congress, delegates from the Russian Federation's party organizations showed profound interest in discussing and elaborating the CPSU's course of renewal and deepening of perestroyka, and actively supported it.

It is well known that the 28th congress adopted a decision on creating a new CPSU program. Russia's Communists were extensively involved in this work. They will have an opportunity to realize their ideas on all questions of party policy. A new CPSU Statute was only just adopted. On the basis of these facts, and bearing in mind the special dynamism of social processes at the transition stage, it appears inexpedient to raise now the question of elaborating our own program and statute. It is obviously necessary to adopt a congress decision to the effect that, in their activity, the RSFSR Communist Party and all its organizations will be guided by the 28th congress program declaration and the new CPSU Statute.

This does not at all mean that we will not exercise the rights vested by the 28th congress in Union republic communist parties.

On the contrary, we intend to exercise the rights envisaged by Paragraph 22 of the CPSU Statute responsibly, without hesitation or doubt. They guarantee our full autonomy in deciding political, organizational, cadre, publishing, financial, economic, and other questions and in establishing ties with other communist parties and progressive social movements, including foreign ones. We are also free to choose the forms and methods for implementing the CPSU's single line in the sphere of state building and socioeconomic and cultural development in the republic.

It is possible that life might raise the question of the need for our own normative acts, taking into account the specific features of our Communist Party's activity. Such documents could be prepared and, following agreement with party organizations, adopted by the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee or by a conference or congress.

I would like to emphasize that the organizational foundations on which the RSFSR Communist Party will be created must be fully in line with the 28th CPSU Congress decisions. The paramount issue must be the democratization of internal party life so that all our organizations could work in an atmosphere of comradeship, free creative work, and open debates.

The party rejects the formal nomenklatura approach toward cadre policy. The power to place cadres is vested in the relevant state organs. But the party has an interest and it will support the promotion of its best representatives within state and social structures.

Comrades, different ideological platforms have taken shape in the republic's party organizations. It is very important to ensure that they enrich our political arsenal and promote constructive cooperation. They must be guaranteed an opportunity to freely explain their positions, including the use of party mass media. Debates within the party are not just a normal but actually a desirable phenomenon. Provided, of course, that they do not become a goal in themselves.

Power in the hands of the party masses must become a natural norm of internal party life. We are in favor of the broadest possible rights of party organizations, which are the foundations of the RSFSR Communist Party and its mainstays among the people. The RSFSR now contains two-thirds of the country's largest primary party organizations, which are led by party committees enjoying the rights of party raykoms [rayon committees]. This is a major force, and it must be given full scope for action.

Our action program proposes the creation of an all-Russian council of primary party organization secretaries under the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee. This proposal is not indisputable, it has been discussed, and it ought to be once more discussed in depth at our congress.

It is also proposed to render utmost assistance to the creation of horizontal structures within our Communist Party. These might be party clubs, associations, secretaries' councils, or party political or party youth centers. Generally speaking, we have boundless scope for opportunities and discoveries. The main point is to find diverse forms which could offer freedom for the manifestation of political activeness and political creativity.

Raykoms and gorkoms [city party committees] must organize their work anew in today's conditions. The raykom today is the political staff at the forward line of our work. It is the raykom that brings together the political line elaborated by the party's collective mind and the practice and aspirations of the party masses. It is the raykom that studies and generalizes experience and coordinates the activity of primary organizations. It is the raykom that elaborates and implements the election campaign tactics. The raykom maintains the political tone of local self-management. The raykom and the primary party organizations—these are foundations of our party edifice. To speak against rayon links today means to deliberately sap the party's vitality.

Understandably, it is extremely important to avoid pitting democracy against discipline, to avoid two equally great dangers: The party's organizational ossification on the one hand, and its transformation into a flaccid and politically amorphous movement on the other.

The RSFSR Communist Party organizations and committees must create structures for the elaboration of election platforms, the conduct of election campaigns, and the work with Communists on soviets. These structures must be strong nd developed. This is a crucial issue.

Our party is a really major international political organization, and this fact introduces its own specific features in its activity. In this context, it is impossible to overlook the tendency toward creation of republican organizations as parts of it. Joint efforts will be needed to elaborate the norms determining their rights, position, and role within the RSFSR Communist Party. This is a complex question demanding detailed discussion. It requires collective consultation with representatives of all autonomous formations taking part. The RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee must begin this work in the immediate future.

Taking the Russian Federation's multinational nature into account, we would deem it expedient to think of setting up an RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Commission for Interethnic Questions or even an international council under the Central Committee. It is also necessary to make some general decisions on Central Committee commissions and the structure of its apparatus. It seems that the congress could instruct the Central Committee to elaborate regulations on the commissions, as well as these commissions' composition, and ratify them at one of its plenums. There is no doubt that both the traditional and the newly created organizational structures in the party must be flexible and capable of swiftly reacting to changes in the sociopolitical situation and restructuring themselves in line with the demands by the times.

Special mention must be made of recruitment to the party ranks in conditions of exacerbated political struggle. Party organizations must give utmost attention to the strengthening of the party's ties with the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and young people.

In this context, I cannot ignore the fact that 90,000 workers resigned from the CPSU in July this year. True enough, their motivations were most diverse, there are no clear-cut conclusions to be drawn from this fact, and there is no reason to panic. It is, however, necessary to thoroughly analyze the reasons behind workers' resignations from the party so as to amend our strategy and tactics.

At the same time, there is a constant stream of applications for admission to the party which are, moreover, submitted by young and energetic people—and this is very gratifying. Today there is a real opportunity to channel fresh energy into the party. The acute debates conducted over a lengthy period within the CPSU, including the one around the creation of the RSFSR Communist Party, revealed not only its opponents but also a large number of supporters among Communists and nonparty members, among people of different generations, professions, and social groups.

It must also be noted that we show very little concern about changes in the activity of local party committees. Meanwhile, by no means all committees are finding their proper place in the new conditions. Some people are confused, others are trying to operate using the old methods. Here too we need a serious analysis and effective help, primarily in the training and further training of cadres, in teaching them the modern methods of political work among the masses.

Local party organs must be fully involved in work in primary party organizations. It is only by strengthening them that the RSFSR Communist Party could establish itself as a united political party operating entirely in the working people's interests.

Comrades, concluding my report, I would like to say the following. Many members of the CPSU Central Committee and the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, delegates, Communists—workers and peasants, engineering and technical staff employees, RSFSR and local soviet people's deputies—the preparatory committee, and representatives of different streams and platforms played an active part in preparations for the second stage of our congress. This is what made it possible to elaborate the draft RSFSR Communists' action program on the basis of the 28th CPSU Congress decisions and as further development of its ideas.

Essentially, we acquired valuable experience in joint work on documents of this kind. An experience making it possible to take into account the entire spectrum of opinions which really exist among the party masses today. The work was tense and it was done in an atmosphere of sharp but constructive debates. We succeeded in reaching agreement because the emphasis was placed on the interests of the cause rather than on group or personal ambitions.

The preparatory committee's doors were open to all. Whoever wished to submit his proposals for the draft action program, did so. After the draft was published, we received about 30,000 proposals and remarks which were examined.

Allow me, dear comrades, to express confidence that the concluding stage of our congress will be held in a businesslike, creative, and constructive atmosphere and will take us further toward understanding the tasks and development prospects of the party of the Russian Federation's Communists. I appeal to delegates for a calm and constructive debate. (Applause)

Gidaspov Reacts to Polozkov

PM0609161190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 3

[INTERFAX report: "Boris Gidaspov on the RSFSR Communist Party Congress"]

[Text] Boris Gidaspov, first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom [Oblast Party Committee] and Gorkom [City Party Committee], has said that, in his opinion, Ivan Polozkov's report at the second stage of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Congress leaves much to be desired. As Gidaspov noted in an interview with an INTERFAX correspondent, the report was "too smooth and, as has been the case in the past, followed the well-practiced old methodology of avoiding clear-cut assessments or analyzing the causes of difficulties and the present-day situation." Boris Gidaspov believes that the RSFSR Communist Party program at this congress should not be adopted, since it is too far from being complete. As he put it, it should be fundamentally reworked and only later adopted at the next RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee plenum. Under no circumstances should yet another congress be held to this end.

RSFSR Party Congress 6 Sep Session Reported

'Bad-Tempered Clashes'

LD0609105490 Moscow TASS in English 1045 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Bad-tempered clashes at the second stage of the founding congress of the Russian Communist Party reached their apogee today as representatives of various platforms, invited to the congress, took the floor.

"Where are we being led: ahead or backwards?" asked Mikhail Popov, of the "Leningrad Initiative Congress." "Perestroyka is not a revolution but a counterrevolution," he answered himself, adding that market-type perestroyka will give power to black-market dealers.

Popov called for creating the Communist Party of Russia "on Lenin's principles" and not in a "parliamentary" form. He told delegates that a group of scientists from Moscow and Leningrad had submitted for consideration by the party "the concept of the development of socialism in the USSR."

Vasiliy Lipitskiy, speaking on behalf of reform-minded Communists, appealed for "wisdom, well-considered decisions and tolerance." He urged the Communists to rely on "new forces which are only now being forged in the course of scientific-technology progress."

Economic reform is the main issue now faced by the Communist Party. People today need, instead of an ideologized economy, a socially-oriented, effective economy, which can be reached only with the help of the market, he stressed.

Yuriy Yegorov, a "Marxist Platform" representative, demanded a referendum on various options of transition to a market. He said there are two such variants: right-wing (inflationary) and left-wing (deflationary). In the first case, he said, people themselves are to pay for the hardships of the transition period. In this case "the Communist Party of Russia should unequivocally defend working people and under no circumstances be a hostage to the government, no matter how many party members it has."

In the second variants, which envisages the transfer of state property to work collectives (not individuals) and a monetary reform without confiscation, "the transition will be paid by black market dealers and related forces—part of the nomenclatura and the criminals." In this case, said Yuriy Yegorov, the Russian Communist Party must "rally workers and support the government with all its might."

Talk about the monetary reform prompted the next speaker, Yuriy Zolotov, representing "The Communist Youth Initiative" to ask "How long will this reform be

delayed?" Zolotov opposed "society capitalisation" and denationalisation of production and demanded that the country's leadership ensure stable prices.

Polozkov Appeals for Support

LD0609212390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1828 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Speech by Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party, at the 6 September RSFSR Communist Party Congress in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades. The social atmosphere that has formed around the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party and for that matter around me personally forces one to make a precise, clear, but calm and balanced assessment. I am not panicking over the campaign stirred up in some of the mass media, and I do not advise you to do so either, [applause] even though it has struck some people that in its power and coordination, this goes far beyond the propaganda campaign once organized by the agitprop in the years of stagnation. Such, clearly, are the fruits of our pluralism.

You know, comrades, that the RSFSR Communist Party arose from the desire of Russia's Communists. This desire was strongly evident in the local party organizations. At the desire of Russia's Communists and by statutory means, the conference made itself into a constituent congress. At that congress, after two rounds of voting in a sharply contested battle, you elected me as first secretary. There was not a single protest over the election procedure, and if my election was not to the liking of some, well, one can understand their feeling of dissatisfaction. But this is no reason for continually questioning the outcome of a legitimate election. I am well aware that the battle that has evolved around me reflects a clash between real political forces. Without going into the substance of this, I shall say what is most important: The country, comrades, is at a sharp turning point in its history. The social situation is complicated, and moreover, further development in this direction would be simply dangerous. All honest people of Russia must cast aside strife and establish civil accord. The people are fed up with the battle of political ambition and endless promises.

The people are demanding action to stabilize life. I am in favor of perestroyka and I have not given anyone grounds to doubt this. I have my own view of the processes that are developing in the country. One could keep quiet, one could just sit it out. But it is possible, and I consider it necessary to say things forthrightly. Just like many other Communists, I am doing this sincerely.

I am for democratic and responsible power in the country. I am for civil order. However, I am against it when those who today prefer to be in the shadows, those who have not been elected by anyone, to whom power has not been delegated, get more and more legitimate power. I have thought a great deal about how to act in the situation which has developed. I thought of putting the issue to a vote of confidence at this congress. Judging by the things which delegations here have said to me, I would probably have won a vote of confidence. However, would this procedure have helped things? That is the main issue which has been worrying me. I think it would not. Those who are striving with all their might to stifle the Russian party at birth, to stop it from getting actively involved in the political life of the country, would have used that to create a new spiral of political instability. Having thought over the situation which has come about, I came to the conclusion that I should not give in to the pressure of the destructive forces. I have been elected by you and will conscientiously carry out the will of the Russian Communists. [applause]

The development of the situation in the RSFSR and in the country as a whole depends on whether our party succeeds in a short time in standing on its feet, whether it succeeds in fully understanding and expressing the hopes of the people and, by implementing them, succeeds in safeguarding the people from crisis and internecine strife. I shall do everything in my power for this and, comrades, I ask for your support. [applause]

I see the Russian Communist Party as a party in which every Communist who has his own opinion and can freely expresss it while participating in the creation of the common point of view. I shall do everything to ensure that the spirit of party ownership should reign in our party.

You have just elected the party's central bodies. The Central Committee is getting down to work, to business. I have a large request to make to you, to give it your support. It is only with your support that the Central Committee can work in a harmonious and coordinated manner. This support is particularly important in the localities. I can assure you that the Central Committee will listen attentively to the voice of the party masses and constantly check its policy with the primary party organizations. We are giving thought to the mechanism for such a constant link.

And just a few more words. I would like you to know that I look upon attacks by my ideological opponents as praise. But I have never borne grudges and I do not now bear grudges for criticism of one's party comrades. [applause]

Decision on Draft Program

LD0609163790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] The decision of the Constituent Congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party [CP] on the draft program of action of the RSFSR Communist Party.

The Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party resolves:

1. Pending the adoption of a new CPSU program, the RSFSR Communist Party is guided in its activities by the program statement "Toward a Humane, Democratic Socialism" and by the CPSU Rules adopted at the 28th Party Congress;

2. The Central Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party, with the involvement of a broad circle of the party aktiv, scientists, and specialists, and on the basis of results of the discussions at the constituent congress, the proposals of party organizations and of Communists, and the particular features of the sociopolitical situation in the republic, is to draw up the main guidelines for the activities of the RSFSR Communist Party: to publish them for 15 October 1990; to discuss them in all party organizations of the republics; and to endorse them at a joint expanded sitting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party no later then December 1990.

Popov on 'Theoretical Struggle'

LD0709005190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1837 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Speech by Leningrad State University Professor Mikhail Vasilyevich Popov, representing the Initiative Congress of Communists of Russia, at the 6 September constituent congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party, held in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Comrades! First, let me express my gratitude for this opportunity to put forward the position of the delegates of the Initiative Congress of the Communists of Russia. Above all, comrades, I would like to say that just like Otto Rudolfovich Latsis, the participants in the Initiative Congress have great misgivings about the program of action, over the draft that has been published. We believe that a lot of it has to be changed. We believe that a lot of it is out of touch with the present situation. In contrast to Otto Rudolfovich Latasis, however, we have expressed our disagreements in a constructive form by way of the concrete proposals that we have submitted, by way of alternative texts that could be put to a vote in order not to hold up the process of the organizational formation of the Communist Party of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. [applause]

Otto Rudolfovich has just described our constituent congress as the Moscow branch of the constituent, sorry, Initiative Congress of the Communists of Russia. I do not think this is quite proper. After all, on the grounds that Otto Rudolfovich... [noise in hall] objects, we do not describe the journal KOMMUNIST as a branch or theoretical supplement to the newly-declared people's newspaper MOSCOW TIMES. [applause]

Comrades, the representatives of the Initiative Congress who took part in the work on the draft program proceeded from the firmly expressed will of the constituent congress and its first stage that we must set up a communist party on Leninist foundations. In our view, this presupposes the following: First, it must be a party of the working class and therefore of all the working people. Second, it is a party that fuses scientific socialism with the workers' movement. Third, it is a party not of talk but of action, a party of communist initiative. We believe this party should be one that has no place in its ranks for liquidators, opportunists, and revisionists. We believe this to be a party that wages an economic, political, and theoretical struggle—a party that campaigns for workers' power instead of worrying only about how to hand over power to parties that represent the bourgeois and petty bourgeois classes. [applause]

Comrades, we believe that it is in the theoretical struggle that we are now in an extremely bad state. Let's take that most fundamental issue—where are we being led today, forward or backward? If you translate the word privatization from foreign Russian into ordinary simple Russian, it means a switch to private property. I ask you, comrades, is this moving forward or backward? I shall ask you a second question. In politics does one have to move forward all the time, or is it sometimes necessary to move backward as well? Must one constantly advance, or is one sometimes obliged to retreat? If we call this a retreat, then let us retreat. Let us indicate the limits of this retreat; let us set the boundaries. But we have people, we have party members who consider this to be an advance. They are proceeding with their heads turned in the opposite direction to social progress, and to them left-wing revolutionary socialist elements turn out to be right-wing conservatives and right-wing—that is, bourgeois and pro-bourgeois elements—call themselves left-wingers. [applause]

The second theoretical question is whether perestroyka is a revolution. We have already been told that it is, so it only remains for us to note this down, and, as I understand, we did, or rather, some did during the years of stagnation, although I never was one of them, nor am I, nor shall I be. Some comrades immediately repeated and explained everything in their writings: They explained efficient economics, developed socialism and other great achievements, the authors of which have now taken their seats on the Presidential Council and other top state and party institutions. [applause]

Let us remembers, comrades, what a theoretical revolution means. Revolution, as everyone here knows—and everyone knows this very well, and I have no intention of lecturing to anyone here; you are educated people—revolution is a transition from one socioeconomic formation to another with a change of the class in power, and that change must be from a reactionary class to a progressive one. In our case, what class will come to power? The advocates of the shadow economy or profiteers newly brought to light? Is this the progressive class? In our case, who is going to buy up factories and plants?

For whom do those speaking about privatization care? For workers? For peasants? For intelligentsia, or maybe professors? Maybe professors can buy up our factories and plants? [applause] Well, I think, comrades, theoretically a transfer from one formation to another is not visable on our way ahead It is visible on the way back, but it is not any longer a revolution, but a counterrevolution. [applause]

And this is why: The comrades who took part in the work of the preparatory committee of the Initiative Congress consider it necessary to stress precisely the socialist direction of perestroyka. For what? The action program is being called a deviation from the documents of the congress. Forgive me, but we have gotten away from the automatic endorsement of everything that was characteristic of the years of stagnation. What do they want from us? For us to approve everything fully and completely? Or should we develop, make concrete, defend, and unify with the documents of the congress? Unity, as dialectical materialism teaches us, is always a unity of various elements; and full identity, comrades, and full equality exists only at the cemetery. [applause] Our fellow countryman Godunov has spoken here, a representative of a group of democrats opposed to the referendum. They are interesting democrats. They began, as we know, by demanding a referendum and ended up demanding what? That a referendum should not be held, that we should not consult the people. I think the democrat is not the man who proclaims himself as such. Formerly, in our country, they attached labels to others; now they pin labels on themselves. So I declare to you in all seriousness that I represent here the democrats, the most progressive, the best, the most creative. And I advise you, when you leave here, to begin with this, and do something else only later. [laughter and applause]

So there you have it, comrades. We consider that Comrade Godunov's statement—where he says we should not develop a modern concept of socialism—is completely wrong. Or if he says this will take us a long time, then he thinks people develop a concept only when told to do so from above. That is not so. A large group of sociologists from Leningrad and Moscow who took part in the work of the Initiative Congress and formed the Scientific Humanist Society has submitted for discussion by the party a concept of the development of socialism—the present and the future of socialism in the USSR. That concept has been distributed to all the members of the Central Committee who were elected before 17 August, at the conference of the members of the Central Committee. We need this concept in order to be able to determine our future, because without the future the party dies and the young will not follow it. I think we need to engage in a very broad discussion of this issue, because otherwise we have one concept foisted on us: You, the Communists. have led us to the wrong place. Retreat with a red banner that says not: Proletarians of all countries unite; but: Workers of the Union republics disunite and kill each other! I think, comrades, if we issue such an appeal, if such a need exists, our newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA must publish that material, and let it be subjected to constructive criticism. If anyone has another draft, another concept, let that be published, too. Let there be competition of ideas. Let us do that. [applause] As a minimum I propose this and I am willing to hand to the secretariat immediately after this speech the text of this concept, so that the congress delegates can take it home with them for study, propaganda, and criticism. We will be very grateful. [applause]

A word or two about what this concept amounts to. We consider that socialism is not a model, but an objective, necessary, and legitimate historical stage in the development of human society. We consider that under socialism there are causes not only for positive, but also for negative phenomena. There is no need to look for them abroad—they grow at home, too, out of a contradictory economic foundation. We consider that it is through the contest of opposite tendencies that progress is accomplished. We consider that those contradictions are resolved thanks to the orientation of the economy toward consumer cost, in relation to the person and not to the cost in rubles. We consider that the main thing must be scientific-technical progress, which no one articulates. But I ask that I not be attacked at Tyulchin was. I was speaking of scientific-technical progress. Please do not abbreviate that word. I want to say that basic among the provisions of this concept is that today we have two lines fighting it out: the communist and the noncommunist. One set of people is striving for wealth for the whole of society, for the development of all and the reduction of social inequality on the basis [bell sounds] of universal development—I have nearly finished [uproar from hall]—while others—give me another two minutes, comrades. [more uproar; chairman interrupts, saying "all right"] I want two minutes. [chairman repeats "all right"]

Thank you, comrades, very much. Others are striving to break off a larger slice of a smaller cake. And I want to say, comrades, that this is not an ideological struggle. The fact is that each of us has these two interests. I have them both. So has everyone sitting here. Each of us has to solve this problem for himself. That is the nature, as it were, of our socialist life. But the Communists are those who solve this contradiction in the following way: We must nonetheless enrich all, and thereby every member of this society. We are Communists because we are doing this now, and not just peering into the long-term future so that all that remains to us of socialism is mere choice. [applause]

We consider the central question to be that of restoring the rule of the soviets. We agree that the present organ of power is the parliament. We agree with the comrades who proudly declare that they are parliamentarians. Yes, they are parliamentarians. But from the mid-thirties, or in other words since the time of the Stalinist constitution, instead of soviets that were elected through the kollektivs by the working people themselves, they were not elected by any constituencies, from below, and it was easy to recall each of them, with immediate effect.

Today, to recall someone, you have to devote your whole life to it. So, comrades, these are the soviets we have, which first arose in Ivanovo, then Petrograd, and continued to exist until the middle of the thirties; then the power of the working people was only maintained by the fact that the party tried to bring in the working people, the peasants, the intelligentsia who were for the workers. Then the party said: I am not doing that any more; I am handing over power to the soviets—that is, to the other parties. It is not for nothing that Comrade Travkin quite rightly said that our party has now become the ruling party, because our program and the program of Comrade Yeltsin fully coincide. [hostile shouting]

I have nearly finished, comrades. Our task today is to restore soviet power in its true Leninist sense. I invite you all to the Initiative Congress of the Communists of Russia, third stage, on 20-21 October of this year in Leningrad. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Polozkhov Answers Delegates

LD0709031690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2040 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Remarks by I.K. Polozkhov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party, in reply to delegates' questions at the 6 September RSFSR Communist Party Congress in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades. During the course of our congress, the presidium and I myself have received very many questions. If I were to try and read them out here, it would take several hours. Therefore I will try to give a general reply to the most important ones, grouped together.

Comrades ask for information about the principles underlying the preparation of the party budget and about the funds which are available to the Republic's Communist Party.

For the year 1990, the budgetary income of the party organizations in the Russian Federation was set at 1.105 billion rubles [R]. This includes R926 million received from membership dues and R175 million profit from party publications. Other sources account for R4 million. Provisions were made for expenditures of R1.163 billion this year. In other words, we are finishing the year with a deficit in excess of R58 million. Because of a change made to the size of the membership subscription, the budgetary income of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party will fall this year by R227 million. Subsidies from the budget of the CPSU will increase, because of this, to R285 million and make up 24.5 percent of total spending of the republic's party bodies.

When deciding on future budgetary policy, we must bear in mind that in 1991 the income of the RSFSR Communist Party will fall, for the reasons mentioned above, by R410-430 million. All in all, the income of the Republic's Communist Party in 1991 will not exceed R500 million. All this places the party in a fundamentally new and unfavorable financial situation. For the time being the party is unable to make good all the income it has lost by means of entrepreneurial, managerial, and productive activities. The deficit on the party budget will amount to roughly R900 million. It can only be eliminated if there is a decisive reduction in spending, above all on the numerical strength of established personnel. The numerical strength of party bodies, including party institutions and service personnel, come to 118,500, including 56,500 who are responsible officials belonging to party committees at all levels. Furthermore, in almost 30,000 primary party organizations there are 47,100 officials who have been released from their duties. Calculations show that our budget allows us to maintain no more than half of the number mentioned.

The deficit on the party budget faces the party with the task of seeking new sources of income. The most realistic of these would seem to be the active involvement of party committees in entrepreneurial activities, the use of the party's material assets for this purpose, and the financing of socially important projects. The concrete forms of entrepreneurial activities should be decided on by the party committees themselves, after taking account of local condtions. The new CPSU Rules have given party organizations full independence in this question. Individual party organizations in the RSFSR have taken steps to invest their funds and material assets in the establishment of joint enterprises, the implementation of various projects, and other measures capable not must of swelling party funds but also helping to resolve local problems by applying party resources. We consider such a practice to be justified, in keeping with the interests of the party and society. We are also convinced that it must be expanded more actively in future.

The next group of questions concerns the party press. At the moment, party organizations in many towns and districts are taking advantage of their right to found newspapers. Many party committees are opting to resolve these questions jointly with local soviets. Party organizations are applying for material assistancd to help them publish these newspapers, cooperating in a realistic, combative, manner with a soviet. This presents us with a complex problem as the party budget is limited. Obviously, a significant part of the spending could be compensated for by skillful handling of commercial work by newspapers editors and optimizing the structure of local publications. There are plans to take more advertising, to act more as an information go-between, to vary the volume and frequency of publication depending on local conditions—with corresponding adjustments to established manpower—and the establishment of inter-publications, and so on.

Furthermore, there are also plans to develop voluntary ways of disributing and delivering party publications, using Communists for this purpose, and involving party veterans and members of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] in this work, to hold Communist subbotniks and organize fund-raising and

voluntary contributions by Communists and working people, in order to swell newspaper funds.

Such is the real situation, comrades. The Central Committee of our party has concrete plans to examine budgetary matters and management at one of its plenums.

There are very many questions asking me what places I have visited during this time, and what I have been doing. I have met with workers' collectives and party organizations. I was able to meet with workers' collectives and party activists in Leningrad and the surrounding Oblast, as well as Bryansk Oblast. I met voters and delegates of the Kray party organization in Krasnodar Kray, which I visited for the purpose of delivering a report and taking part in the election of the first secretary. In Moscow I took part in a meeting of party activists working in seven rayons of the city, including Leninskiy, Sverdlovskiy, Perovskiy, Sovetskiy, Chermushkinskiy, Pervomayskiy, and Volgogradskiy. I attended a similar meeting at the NOVOSTI news agency. I attended a joint meeting of activists belonging to the Moscow Gorkom and Obkom. I met leaders of the Russian Komsomol, the Committee of Soviet Women, the editorial staff of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and a group of Russian writers. I visited rural areas of Moscow Oblast and met workers there. I had the opportunity to mix with people and listen to the views put forward by representatives of a wide variety of social groups and age groups, supporters of various platforms. But naturally, I spent most of the time concentrating on preparations for this congress.

Before I turn to the resolution, let me just mention that there were questioners who pointed out that we do not have regulations governing the election of congress bodies. I would ask the comrades who raised this question to consult the decision adopted by the inaugural congress of the RSFSR Communist Party on 21 June 1990, on the formation of the RSFSR Communist Party. Point No. 3 says that the inaugural congress elects the first secretary of the Central Committee, the chairman of the Control Commission, the Central Committee, and the Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party. The formation of a Politburo of the Central Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party is judged to be essential, it goes on. That is Point No. 3. The other questions are also answered there.

Now, as regards the resolution of the Congress. This is the most acute question which we now have to discuss. During the congress you sensed how polarized views are, how varied the approaches are, and how contradictory the assessments of this fundamental document. I would ask the congress delegates to weigh up their decision on this question, to aproach it very calmly. I think that today we ought to be able—and we have every reason for this—to adopt a decision of our congress, which succinctly and clearly says that the members of thue RSFSR Communist Party are guided in all their activities by the policy documents of the 28th Party Congress, including the document entitled "Toward a Humane, Democratic Socialism," and by the CPSU Rules. Taking into account the wide-ranging, large-scale discussions which have been held at the congress, and the criticisms and proposals which have been received from Communists and party organizations—and the Editorial Commission reported that there were more than 30,000 of them—taking into account our thorough discussion of the draft action program of the Russian Communist Party, it should instruct the Central Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party to work out within, say, two months, political theses determining the status and tactics of the Communist Party, and to publish them in the press by, say, 15 October. The work could be completed by then. It would be instructed to organize a wide-ranging debate on these documents. In all primary party organizations, in the mass media, to ask them to give this document a bit more attention than has been given up to now. Once careful account has been taken of the criticisms and proposals which will come in from local areas and be discussed, an enlarged session of the Central Committee and the Control Commission which we have elected should be in a position to adopt or endorse these political actions before the program of the CPSU is drafted and discussed by us, with a view to resolving our questions.

Finally, the inaugural congress of the RSFSR Communist Party is concluding its work. We have three days of intense discussion behind us, three days imbued with sincere concern for the future of our multiethnic republic, and for the present and future of its people. We have spent three days hearing the truth about the party, its responsibilities, and its debt to the people. I think, comrades, we can say with a clean conscience that the congress has been a success on the whole. The main goal—completing the formation of the Russian party—has been achieved. A political organization, which is fully determined to fight for the interests of the working people has been formed. Let us be frank and honest. The Communists owe a great deal to their people. We have certainly not always used their trust and and support as we should have done. We have an obligation to make good this debt. Our party must be a party of action. We have already discussed a great deal. We have adopted quite a few plans and programs. Now it is time to get down to specific and intensive work, the day-to-day grind. It is time to implement our intentions.

Thank you for your active support. [applause]

Party Congress Concludes

LD0609122190 Moscow TASS in English 1205 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—The founding congress of the Russian Communist Party ended in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses today. The congress was held in two stages (the first took place in June).

During the second stage, delegates filled vacancies in the 272-man party Central Committee and formed a 96-strong Central Control Commission.

Today's session opened with the refusal of party leader Ivan Polozkov to step down, despite appeals for him to resign from many delegates. He said he was not going to panic because of a campaign in the press against him. His words were met by stormy applause.

Representatives of various platforms invited to the forum clashed at today's session. They included the "Leningrad Initiative Congress," reform-minded communists, the Marxist Platform and the "Communist Youth Initiative." All these speeches gave different, at times opposing, evaluations of ways to implement economic reform.

Replying to delegates' questions after the congress, Polozkov said that the party organisations in the republic earned 1,105 million roubles in 1990, including 926 million in membership fees. This year, the party budget will run up a deficit of more than 58 million roubles.

Summing up the results of the forum, Polozkov said that by and large, "The congress has been a success."

"The main goal of completing the formation of the Russian party has been attained."

The congress decided not to adopt a policy statement, the draft of which was lambasted at the forum and in party organizations. The document will be revised and endorsed at an extended joint meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee no later than December. Until that time, the Russian Communist Party will be guided by the policy statement and the rules passed at the 28th Communist Party Congress. The delegates approved a provision calling for a referendum in the Russian Communist Party.

It was announced that delegates would meet President Mikhail Gorbachev later today.

Gorbachev Meets With Delegates

LD0609143790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1410 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Today, following the completion of the first, constituent, congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev had a meeting with congress delegates. In his address the USSR president and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee dwelled on several topical aspects of economic reform and replied to numerous questions from the delegates. Ryzhkov and Polozkov took part in the meeting.

TASS Carries Responses to Party Congress

Areas Where Session 'Failed'

LD0609194390 Moscow TASS in English 1909 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS World Service analyst Nikolay Nikolayev]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—"Where are we being led—forwards or backwards?", a delegate to the Russian Communist Party congress asked of the country's leaders. The question should be rightfully addressed to the Russian Communist Party as a whole: Its founding congress, which ended in the Kremlin today, failed to provide answers to many acute questions prompted by the emergence of this new political party and engandered many more.

The prime question is why was the Russian Communist Party created? If only to shelter the apparat, the task can be viewed as accomplished. This seems to be the only tangible result produced by the congress. A political party without a programme and rules is nonsensical. The Russian Communist Party is just such a party at present. It does not even have a document stating its shortest-term policy. The appearances were, of course, observed: Delegates decided they would take guidance from the decisions made at the 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

Tensions in the audience transcended all parliamentary boundaries. Party leader Ivan Polozov, 55, was hardly a boon to the party's drive for consolidation—his pronouncements mark the man as an opponent of the radical reforms needed sorely by Soviet society. Many people expected him to tender his resignation and were quite open about their stand when off the rostrum. The more so since on the opening day Polozkov himself hinted that he will "have something to say" on this score later in the congress.

On the closing day, Polozkov kept his promise, telling the congress he will stay put and will not be victimised by critics campaigning against him.

Virtually every speech at the congress had something to say about the country's transfer to a market economy. It seems that most of the delegates, proud of their life-long attachment to marxism, saw little difference between a market economy and a market place. They showed little understanding or approval of a radical transformation of economic relations. No option was good enough for them—neither the programme offered by the Stanislav Shatalin group, nor the version proposed by Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin.

The favoured path was made clear by a speaker who demanded that the country be returned to a pre-1985 state.

Other approaches were also voiced, stressing that the transition to market relations is the only way out of the

social and political crisis. But supporters of these views were few and far between in an audience inflamed by anti-market passion.

As a result, the party has failed to define priorities in the economic sphere. What can result from this stance, or rather lack of stance? The only possible answer is that the Russian Communist Party has chosen to remain on the sidelines—deciding against active involvement in working out an economic strategy.

The three-day congress provided no reply to the question of which way to chose and where to move. Yet it occurred at a time when the Russian parliament is considering the Shatalin group programme "500 days" and is about to approve it, and the national parliament is set to finalise the discussion in a few days.

The Russian Communist Party seems willing to abandon the only field in which its voice might be heeded.

Who are you with and what are you for, Russian Communist Party? Your aims are vague and tasks vaguer, but your apparat is being formed at a quickened pace, while more and more rank-and-file communists are making up their minds and turning in their membership cards.

Delegates React to Congress

LD0609122590 Moscow TASS in English 1148 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Soviet poet Rasul Gamzatov said he saw no prospects for the Russian Communist Party. Gamzatov, who is a delegate to the Russian Communist Party congress, which opened in Moscow on Tuesday, told TASS before this morning's session that he could not say "anything good" about the first two days of the congress.

He said the difficult situation in the country affected the congress. He criticised the party's programme of action, submitted to the congress, saying that its adoption was not "necessary."

General Aleksey Lizichev, who is also attending the congress, said that, "Although delegates sometimes express opposite views, all are now unanimous that Russia needs the party."

"In this difficult economic and social situation, the Russian Communist Party will perhaps become a consolidating force that will unite efforts to strengthen Russia and preserve the Union."

Another congress delegate Boris Gidaspov, Leningrad party chief and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, said that delegates were divided over the party's future.

"Some believe this will be a Russian party organisation, others, including myself, advocate a fully-fledged party," he told TASS.

Gidaspov said it was too early to adopt any final documents now. At the same time, he called for concluding the party's organisational formation.

Economist Pavel Bunich expressed surprise over discussions at the congress.

"Already the first stage of the party's constituent congress was rather rightist," he said. "But then the 28th CPSU Congress took place. And although 60 per cent of its delegates were from Russia, it looked quite different by the end.

"But this stage of the Russian congress began as if the 28th congress never took place."

Bunich welcomed the idea of Ivan Polozkov's resignation from the post of Russian party leader, saying it is a "very good option."

However, minutes nto the morning session Polozkov announced he would not resign.

Polozkov's 'Grass-Roots' Appeal Questioned

PM0609135790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

["Political Diary" by Lev Karpinskiy: "From a Separate Bowl"]

[Excerpts] The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party leaders have firmly and decisively embarked on stage two of their constituent congress. The draft program document is subject to the examination of this esteemed assembly, and of course it will be examined. However, I want first to dwell on one ostensibly personal aspect.

Soon after Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov came to the capital in his new role as first secretary of the Central Committee of Russia's Communists, he saw his main mission as being to protect those whom he so aptly termed "wage-earners." Essentially this formula, if taken seriously, **revises** the profound meaning of the socioeconomic reform begun in 1985, and despite its apparent philanthropy is incompatible with the humanist impulse of perestroyka. It denies the goal toward which the country has been moving in the face of great difficulties for over five years now, trying through denationalization, different forms of ownership, and the market to combine the worker and the owner in a single person. This would make it possible finally to move workers from wages arbitrarily fixed by the state to a reward which objectively reflects the value of labor, and then to completely "switch" the majority of workers to "earnings" obtained for their output according to the laws of equivalent exchange. [passage omitted]

Now Polozkov assures the public that he is "for the market." But then he immediately qualifies his acceptance of that world phenomenon with some home-grown categorical conditions: The market must be "organized," "socialist," and "subordinate to the interests of working people." The creator of this ornate verbal edifice does not explain just **who** is supposed to organize the market and **who** will subordinate it to working peoples' interests. But what is clear is that this mission is entrusted to the same old administrative system. Meanwhile society needs the market precisely because the market has demonstrated its ability to organize itself economically and also to subordinate the economy to the interests of working people because they, too, it is to be hoped, will some day become consumers here.

Furthermore, without the market you cannot satisfy the interests of the genuine producer.

Polozkov, and in particular his group of academic supporters, are hoping to trick the uninitiated with a knowingly false dichotomy: Either wages are fixed by the state, in which working people are the masters, or they will be determined by the labor market and working people will be turned into the hired hands of private capital which, of course, will then squeeze every last ounce out of the workers. But stories about the worker-cum-master in our state sector now make even schoolchildren laugh: They are exploited hired hands even more there than anywhere else and even more than you could imagine. [passage omitted]

The skilled worker is not afraid of the market. On the contrary, it is in the market, including the labor market, that he seeks protection from the bureaucratic state. Therefore Polozkov's confidence that his ideas will find support from "grass-roots workers" begs the question: Will the **working elite** understand him? [passage omitted]

Polozkov demonstrates his devotion to the class position by demanding a "guaranteed supply" for the working class in conditions of scarcity. Admittedly he hasn't yet clarified what form that should take—"ration cards, rations, coupons, or something else." To decide which option to choose, the head of Russia's Communists calls for the weight of the party's "collective intellect" to be mobilized. A worthy occupation for such a mighty intellect. In the present program for the country's salvation, however, there are two "minor" points which have somehow been omitted. How does he intend to convert the workers' "cards or coupons" into goods, and should other social strata—scientists, nurses, or musicians, for instance—starve to death at once or in easy stages?

There is another question: Will the working class, which has experienced for itself all the delights of the artificial division of society, actually agree to eat from a separate bowl in full view of everyone? Hardly. Unless, of course, it is only the "grass roots" that is meant again.

Meanwhile, it is from just that supposition that the concept of the population's social protection originates, the draft of which was recently presented by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems. Paying labor its true worth, freeing it from "per capita" regulation, and replacing the existing system of "ceilings" which hold the worker down with a system of basic conditions for free activity; these and a number of other provisions in the concept put the problem of protecting working people in very real terms. Labor must be given the opportunity to protect itself. And the only reason for state and social compensation is when the capacity for labor is undeveloped.

So it is not for personal reasons but for the factors listed above that Polozkov's impatient intention to "act, act, and act again" does not fill me with any special enthusiasm.

Russian Democratic Party Outlines Future Plans

90UN2730A Moscow DEMOKRATICHESKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian No 1, Jul 90 Supplement pp 1-8

[Declaration, Program Propositions, and Organizational Principles of the Democratic Party of Russia]

[Text] Dear Compatriots!

A conference of representatives of 99 cities and 85 oblasts of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated

Socialist Republic], at which the Democratic Party of Russia (DPR) was founded, was held 26-27 May in Moscow.

The conference was prepared by an organizing committee formed from representatives of the Interregional Group, deputies of the "Democratic Russia" bloc, supporters of the "Democratic Platform" who have quit and been expelled from the CPSU, activists of voter associations, and members of various professional, public, and political organizations.

The conference elected a provisional party leadership consisting of:

Nikolay Ilich Travkin, people's deputy of the USSR and RSFSR, chairman;
Gennadiy Eduardovich Burbulis, people's deputy of the USSR,
Sergey Gennayevich Zimin,
Garri Kimovich Kasparov,
Arkadiy Nikolayevich Murashov, people's deputy of the USSR,
Mikhail Nikitovich Tolstoy, people's deputy of the RSFSR, and
Georgiy Fedorovich Khatsenkov, deputy chairmen; and

It is planned to prepare and hold the First Democratic Party of Russia Congress at the end of October 1990.

Meetings of the board held in June adopted the following decisions:

1) to initiate organizing work on the formation of local primary and regional party structures and to begin the registration of individual members;

2) to draw up program documents;

3) to form factions of the members and supporters of the Democratic Party of Russia in the Soviets of People's Deputies of various levels;

4) to conduct canvassing and coordination with possible collective members of the Democratic Party of Russia;

5) to begin coalition negotiations with other parties and political organizations;

6) to publish a party newspaper, develop a system of news bulletins, and prepare printing facilities.

You are offered material adopted by the conference which we regard as the primary basis for the elaboration of the party's program documents. They are of an exploratory and preliminary nature. At the same time the basic propositions of this material will make it possible for everyone who intends or is preparing to join our party to get his bearings with sufficient precision.

In creating the primary party structures you may discuss this material and formulate your observations and proposals and prepare independent drafts, which will make it possible to collectively create program documents in order that they may be discussed and adopted at the first congress.

Declaration of the Democratic Party of Russia *Toward a flourishing Russia through human rights, a civil society, economic liberty, and state sovereignty*

Fellow Citizens!

Possessing exceptionally rich natural resources, a vast territory, and a gifted multimillion-strong people, our country is unable to make ends meet and feed and clothe its own citizens. And the already low living standard of the population of the country has been declining constantly for decades, while the republic government has been applying the brakes to long-urgent reforms, and the economic system is stubbornly continuing to undertake vast, unprofitable projects, squandering resources, and destroying the environment.

The reasons for the catastrophic situation in society are the monopoly of communist ideology, the practice of the planned extermination of tens of millions of the best people, and the suppression of the people's economic and political initiative.

Under the conditions of the intensifying crisis of Soviet society, the development of the democratic process in the republic requires the creation of a mass political party uniting the supporters of Russia's radical democratic renewal.

Our goal is the political, economic, and spiritual revival of the peoples of the republic.

We are setting as our priority task the revival of Russian statehood in the form of a sovereign democratic federal republic with a multiparty system.

In the economy we are unequivocally for a market, for free enterprise. Mankind has not as yet thought up a better method of regulating the production of commodities for satisfaction of the citizens' requirements and the rapid solution of the problems which arise in society. We are for a radical shift of national income in favor of consumption owing to a cutback in some government programs, particularly military. The market—for an improvement in people's life.

In the sphere of interethnic relations the party recognizes the unconditional right of all the republics which are a part of the Union to self-determination, including separation. The party does not aspire to predetermine the issue of the ultimate national-state arrangement of Russia, at the same time, however, it recognizes for the autonomous national-territorial formations the degree of sovereignty which they deem necessary.

The Democratic Party of Russia is a parliamentary-type party formed for political struggle within the framework of the Constitution. At the present time it advocates the consolidation of all democratic forces on the basis of struggle for the constitutional overthrow of the power of

the CPSU party apparatus (at elections, in Congresses of People's Deputies, and in the Supreme and local Soviets of People's Deputies).

We are prepared to act as a common bloc with all democratic parties and movements. We support the existence within the party of factions with different platforms, if they accord with our basic goals.

We are for leaving personal political delusions and ambitions in the past. We welcome all who are ready to come to us with open heart and to transmit their skills, knowledge, and experience.

We appeal to compatriots abroad, all to whom Russia is dear, for aid in its revival.

The world of people is one, regardless of beliefs and racial and national affiliation. There should be no place in it for either military or political and ideological confrontation. We, together with all free citizens of Russia, wish to live in an open and flourishing society based on the priority of human values.

Program Propositions of the Democratic Party of Russia *Toward a flourishing Russia through human rights, a civil society, economic liberty, and state sovereignty*

Under the conditions of the intensifying crisis of Soviet society the development of the democratic process in the republic requires the creation of a parliamentary political party uniting the supporters of Russia's democratic renewal.

Our goal is the political, economic, and spiritual revival of the peoples of the republic.

The Party's Main Tasks *In the political sphere:*

— the formation of a civil society based on the priority of human rights over the interests of the state;

— the creation of Russian statehood ensuring the equality of all citizens, regardless of social position, religious belief, and national and party affiliation. The formation of a multiparty state based on the rule of law with the separation of the legislature, executive, and judiciary. The Russian Federation is an independent democratic state and equal member of a voluntary union of sovereign republics delegating some of their rights to the center. The basis of this association are economic relations, political alliances, and human and cultural contacts;

— the unification of all democratic forces in the struggle against all forms of totalitarianism for the elimination of the CPSU's monopoly of power;

— the adoption of a new constitution of the Russian Federation corresponding to the "General Declaration of Human Rights" and international legal instruments ensuring basic individual liberties;

— the decentralization of state administration based on the power of the people and the development of various forms of local self- government. The impermissibility of party interference in the activity of the law enforcement and other state authorities. The demonopolization of the economy, culture, science, and education. To strive for a law on freedom of worship;

— to strive for the republic's right to independently and actively shape its international policy in the name of defense of the interests of Russia and its citizens. To establish the priority of values common to all mankind in international relations based on sovereignty, cooperation, and economic and cultural integration in the world community. *In the economic sphere:*

— to struggle for worthy living conditions for the citizens of the republic through the creation of a society of equal opportunities based on enterprise and the equality of all forms of ownership from private through state. It is essential to this end to carry out the economically substantiated denationalization of the means of production and adopt antitrust legislation and other measures for ensuring the competition of the producers and protection of the rights of the consumers. To legally enshrine the inviolability and inalienability of citizens' property and the results of their labor. The foundation of the civil society should be the economic independence of the working person;

— the economic recovery of the republic through the development of market relations, a reduction in expenditure on military and other construction, and a revision of government programs and outlays;

— to draw up and adopt a program of social protection providing for the use of resources released from the state budget for targeted payments to retirees, invalids, mothers with large families, and other categories of needy citizens and also the indexation of payments to people working in state organizations on a fixed income;

— to elaborate and adopt programs of support for entrepreneurial activity and incentive taxation of the sphere of the production of goods and services according to which the maximum total rate of profits tax for enterprises of all types of ownership should be approximately equal;

— to legislatively protect and stimulate free peasant labor and really transfer ownership of the land and the produce grown on it to the peasant farms;

— to integrate the republic's economy in the system of world economic relations and attract foreign capital for a rise in the living standard of the population, the accomplishment of priority national economic tasks, an acceleration of scientific-technological progress, and a rise in the quality of output. *In the sphere of interethnic relations, the party:*

— recognizes the unconditional right of all republics that are a part of the Union to self-determination, including separation. The party does not aspire to predetermine the issue concerning the ultimate national-state arrangement of Russia, at the same time, however, it recognizes for the autonomous national-territorial formations the degree of sovereignty which they deem necessary;

— rejects all forms of manifestations of national enmity and chauvinism. Advocates the consolidation of society on the basis of values common to all mankind and the priority of human rights and mutual respect for national cultures, customs, and religious beliefs. Only the right to political, economic, and cultural independence will guard against confrontation and ensure the full- fledged development of the republic. A prerequisite of the actual equality of the nations and national groups is a free market and the equality of forms of ownership. *In the sphere of culture the party deems essential:*

— the priority development of programs for environmental protection and the spheres of education and health care and the transition to health insurance;

— the deideologization of education and culture and the exclusion of the interference of the state authorities in the spiritual development process;

— support for the aspiration of the peoples and ethnic groups of Russia to national-cultural distinctiveness and autonomy;

— spiritual and cultural integration with Russians living abroad;

— protection of cultural monuments and the restoration to Russian cities of their former names;

— the creation of conditions conducive to the free religious, missionary, and charitable activity of all churches, creeds, religious communities, and associations, and the return of places of worship to believers. *In the sphere of cooperation with other parties and movements:*

— advocates the development of cooperation with democratic parties, public, worker, and peasant movements, and independent labor unions. The Democratic Party of Russia is prepared to act with them in a united bloc.

* * *

The Democratic Party of Russia is a party of freedom, hope, decisive change, common sense, and moral revival challenging the forces of reaction and totalitarianism and the current system of power. We are driven by a sense of civic responsibility, compassion, and involvement, and an endeavor to lead the country out of the crisis.

Organizational Principles of the Democratic Party of Russia *Toward a flourishing Russia through human rights, a civil society, economic liberty, and state sovereignty*

Under the conditions of the intensifying crisis of Soviet society the development of the democratic process in the republic requires the creation of a parliamentary political party uniting the supporters of Russia's radical democratic renewal.

Our goal is the political, spiritual, and economic revival of the peoples of the republic. *1. General Provisions*

1.1. The party organizes its business within the framework of the RSFSR Constitution, RSFSR laws, and ratified international agreements.

1.2. The Democratic Party of Russia aspires to cooperation with kindred parties of the Union republics and states emerging on the territory of the USSR.

1.3. The party organizes its relations with other political parties within the USSR and overseas on the principles of independence, equality, and noninterference in one another's internal affairs.

1.4. The party rejects forcible methods of the solution of social, religious, national, and other conflicts; and opposes enmity, chauvinism, religious and ideological intolerance, and infringement of the dignity of the individual. *2. Aims and Tasks of the Democratic Party of Russia*

2.1. The creation of Russian statehood in the form of a democratic republic.

2.2. The creation of a multiparty state based on the rule of law with the separation of the legislature, executive, and judiciary.

2.3. The decentralization of state administration based on the power of the people and the development of local self-government.

2.4. The republic's economic recovery through the development of market relations and support for entrepreneurial activity and free peasant labor.

2.5. The elaboration and adoption of programs of the social protection of the population of the republic.

2.6. The integration of Russia's economy in the system of world economic relations. *3. Basic Directions of the Activity of the Democratic Party of Russia*

3.1. Participation in various forms of political activity and the elections of people's deputies and active work through its representatives in the soviets of all levels.

3.2. The elaboration of political, socioeconomic, and other programs and struggle for their realization.

3.3. Economic, financial, and publishing activity.

3.4. Cooperation with other parties and public organizations.

3.5. Mass canvassing and cultural and educational work.

4. Party Membership

4.1. Any person, regardless of profession, racial and national affiliation, and religious belief, who has attained to 16 years of age and who acknowledges the basic propositions of the program documents and organizational principles may be a member of the party.

Membership of the Democratic Party of Russia is incompatible with membership of other political parties.

Individual admittance to the party is practiced by the primary structure on the basis of a personal application. A member of the Democratic Party of Russia obtains a regulation party card. Party membership is confirmed by the payment of membership dues.

4.2. Provision is made for collective party membership. The status of collective member of the party is defined by the "Regulations Governing Collective Membership of the Democratic Party of Russia."

4.3 Public associations, unions, and organizations whose program documents do not conflict with the basic propositions of the program documents and organizational principles of the Democratic Party of Russia may be collective members of the party. Collective members are admitted by the party board with subsequent confirmation by the congress.

4.4. Party members have the right:

— to participate in determination of party policy and activity, submit proposals, set forth their views, and participate in the free discussion of all matters in question both before and after the adoption of decisions;

— to obtain any information on the activity of the party authorities;

— to present nominations and elect or be elected or delegated to any party authority;

— to criticize any party authority and any member of the party, regardless of office;

— to quit their primary organization and join another with its consent or, in conjunction with other party members, to form a new primary structure;

— to participate in other public organizations and movements whose principles and activity are not in conflict with the basic propositions of program documents of the Democratic Party of Russia;

— to financial assistance and legal aid of the party upon the unlawful infringement of their rights on the part of both party and nonparty bodies.

4.5. The party member is obliged:

— to be registered in a primary party structure;

— to pay membership dues;

— to abide by the basic propositions of the party's program documents and organizational principles;

— to support the party, contributing to the spread of its ideas.

4.6. Party membership may be terminated:

— at one's own request;

— in connection with expulsion from the party.

— Any member of the party who by his actions has inflicted political, material, or financial damage on the party may be expelled. A question of expulsion from the party is considered and decided by a meeting of the primary structure in which he is registered, following his notification.

— A party member who has been expelled has the right to appeal. *5. Organizational Foundations and Principles of Activity*

5.1. The party is built according to the territorial principle. Primary party formations (cell, organization, club and so forth) constitute the basis of the party. Vertical and horizontal, including temporary, party structures on the basis of professional, artistic, and other interests operate in the Democratic Party of Russia.

5.2. The democracy of the party's internal life is ensured by:

— the electivity of all party authorities top to bottom;

— direct, multiple-choice, platform-based elections with secret balloting and conferences of all levels and members of all elective authorities; complete openness in the work of the party organizations and authorities of all levels.

5.3. Party members whose opinion has not concurred with that of the majority must respect the democratically adopted decisions of the majority, preserving here freedom of their own opinion and criticism of the adopted decisions, not impeding their fulfillment and not having the right to speak on the party's behalf.

Party members who are in a minority:

— are ensured freedom to form factions and groupings;

— are accorded the right to demand repeat consideration of contentious issues at party meetings and conferences and in the press.

5.4. Intraparty debate is the basic mechanism of the ascertainment, comparison, and convergence of the opinions of party members.

5.5. The highest body of the primary party structure is the general assembly. The party body elected by the assembly deals with the current business of the party organization.

The primary party structure has the right:

— to admit to the party and expel from it;

—to independently determine its structure;

— to independently dispose of its financial resources, minus the resources deducted for the party's central budget. The primary party formations are answerable in respect of their financial obligations;

— to engage in publishing activity and have its own information organs;

— to nominate and support candidates for people's deputy of all levels;

— to decide other questions attributed by the organizational principles to its jurisdiction;

— to adopt a decision on termination of the activity of the party organization.

5.6. Within the limits of the administrative-territorial units the primary structural formations form the corresponding coordinating bodies and determine their forms, functions and structure.

5.7. Members of the Democratic Party of Russia serving in the USSR Armed Forces, MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] forces, railroad forces, MVD and KGB authorities, and in judicial, law enforcement, and other state bodies are registered in territorial party structures and may only form primary structures according to the place of service (work) in the absence of such. These primary structures do not have the right to interfere in any way in the activity of the bodies and institutions in which they are formed and involve themselves only in matters of party life. *6. The Party's Central Authorities*

6.1. The highest body of the party is the congress, which meets as necessary, but not less than once a year.

6.2. The party's standing bodies are elected at the congress. In the event of the representatives of a faction registered at the congress demanding elections according to the system of proportional representation, each group and faction has the right, in proportion to its numbers, to elect its representatives to the central authorities.

6.3. The board is the executive and coordinating body in the period between congresses.

The chairman and members of the board may on the basis of proxy authority represent the party in relations with other parties and state institutions.

6.4. An all-party referendum is conducted in a period between congresses in accordance with a decision of the party board or a decision of a regional conference which is backed altogether by no less than 10 percent of party members. An all-party referendum is conducted also at a demand of 10 percent of party members presented by petition.

An all-party referendum is conducted for the solution of most important problems arising in the life of the party in respect of which only the congress is authorized to adopt a decision. Changes to the program and other party documents may be made in accordance with the results of a referendum.

Referendums may be conducted at all party levels. *7. The Party and the Elections of People's Deputies*

7.1. The lists of candidates for people's deputies of the USSR and the RSFSR are compiled in accordance with the following rules. The party organizations are accorded the right to nominate candidates. The conference of party organizations of a territorial (national-territorial) electoral district hears from and recommends candidates from the party for the central list.

The central list of candidates from the party compiled on the basis of proposals from the localities is approved by the congress for subsequent financing of the election campaign.

7.2. The party board has the right to propose candidates for their nomination as candidates for people's deputy to the conferences of the territorial (national-territorial) electoral districts.

7.3. Candidates nominated in the primary party structures, but not on the central list of candidates from the party, may participate in the election campaign as independent candidates or as candidates from the public organizations or movements in which they have participated.

7.4. The procedure established in the local party organization operates at the time of nomination of candidates for elections to the local soviets.

7.5. People who are not party members may be entered on the lists of party candidates also.

7.6. In the event of it having been decided to cooperate at the elections with other organizations and groups, the procedure for the nomination of candidates and the compilation of lists is determined on the basis of an arrangement by the parties.

7.7. Party members form party factions in the soviets of all levels. Party members who are deputies are independent in their work in the soviets of the party board and are subordinate only to the decisions of the congress (conference) and the corresponding parliamentary faction.

7.8. Joint sessions of the party board and the deputies are conducted to coordinate the activity of the party faction

in the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the RSFSR if one party demands this. *8. Legal Status of the Party and its Organizations*

8.1. The party organizations, beginning with the primary organization, and the party as a whole in the shape of its elective bodies, may have the right of body corporate and own property with the status stipulated by law for public organizations. The party organizations and the party as a whole have an independent balance sheet and answer in respect of their liabilities with the property and monetary resources upon which, in accordance with legislation of the USSR, execution may be levied.

8.2. For the accomplishment of their statutory tasks the party authorities may create and establish enterprises and other economic, commercial, and public organizations, including those engaging in publishing activity.

8.3. The Democratic Party of Russia has an emblem, seal, letter- head, and stationery with its own lettering and emblem. *9. The Party's Monetary Resources*

9.1. The party's monetary resources are formed from membership dues and deductions from the profits of the party's publishing houses, enterprises, and economic and commercial organizations. The party budget may receive voluntary donations from individual citizens, Union, foreign, and international organizations and enterprise outfits. The party's budget is published annually in the party press.

9.2. The primary party organizations deduct for the party's central budget no less than 10 percent of membership dues. The party's budget is formed upward on the basis of the budgets of the primary, territorial organizations.

9.3. A party member pays his dues quarterly. The amount of the minimum contribution is determined by the congress. For students, trainees, the needy, and retirees not in work and employed temporarily the annual membership contribution is fixed at one ruble.

9.4. For collective members the total amounts of membership dues are determined upon agreement among the collective-member organizations and the corresponding party authority.

9.5. The party organizations may from their budget render material

'Democratic Russia' Movement Registered

90UN2741A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 30 Aug 90 p 1

[A. Kozhakhmetova report: "An Alliance Is Being Formed"]

[Text] The idea of the consolidation of democratic forces is in the air—this is what a group of people's deputies of the USSR, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], and the Moscow and Leningrad Soviets have decided.

The new social and political movement "Democratic Russia," which intends to play precisely this consolidating part, has been registered in the Moscow City Soviet. Last Tuesday members of the movement's organizing committee held their first press conference in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The movement does not have a program or rules but is prepared to unite under its wing political parties of a democratic persuasion. The Constitutional Democrats Party, Russian social democrats, "April," and "Memorial" have already consented to join "Democratic Russia."

Whom will this alliance oppose, with whom does it intend to fight? The movement does not represent an opposition to the center wing in the CPSU, journalists were assured, and is ready to cooperate with progressive forces in the Communist Party, but is opposed to the conservative forces in the CPSU.

Goals of 'Democratic Russia' Outlined

90UN2741B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 35, 1-7 Sep 90 p 2

[Response to reader's question by V. Lysenko, RSFSR people's deputy, delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress, and member of the Democratic Platform Coordinating Council: "The Democratic Platform Leaves the CPSU"]

[Text] **Please explain why the "Democratic Platform" association of communists has quit the CPSU and what its future plans are.**

[Signed] L.G. Latysheva, Moscow.

Our correspondent put this question to V. Lysenko, people's deputy of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress, and member of the Democratic Platform Coordinating Council.

The Democratic Platform quit the CPSU after the vast majority of its supporters had become convinced in the precongress period and in the course of the work of the Russian party conference and the 28th congress, of the Communist Party's inability to reform itself and the unwillingness of the party apparatus to part with the monopoly of power.

At its congress the CPSU declined in practice to hand over the fullness of power to the soviets, for which not only the Democratic Platform but also the first congress of the country's miners and the Russian and a number of other republic parliaments were demanding:

— a separation of party and state functions (to the great joy of the oblast, city, and rayon party committee secretaries M.S. Gorbachev once again combined the highest offices);

— depoliticization of the KGB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Armed Forces, and state institutions,

thereby depriving the party apparatus of its most important implements of power;

— deprivation of the party committees in the work force of their official status;

— handing over property unlawfully appropriated by the CPSU, including the mass media, to the people;

In accordance with the authority accorded the Coordinating Council by the Second All-Union Democratic Platform Conference, V.N. Shostakovich, dean of the Moscow Higher Party School, delivered a statement at the congress on the Democratic Platform's withdrawal from the CPSU and the start of the formation of a new parliamentary party. I would like to emphasize this last point particularly for G.G. Gusev, member of the Moscow interclub party organization, who spoke at the congress, and subsequently his five supporters, who with no authority and having falsely appropriated the name "section of reformer communists of the Democratic Platform," embarked in "close collaboration" with the party apparatus upon an attempt to discredit the new party which was being set up and the establishment of "friendly relations" with the organizing committee of the Leningrad Initiating Congress for a Russian Communist Party and other national-patriotic and conservative forces.

What will the future party represent?

First, it will be a noncommunist party (but not anticommunist). We renounce communism forever as a utopian, unattainable goal, and Marxism-Leninism, which became its theoretical foundation. We renounce in our program documents all "isms," orienting ourselves toward specific goals and values comprehensible to anyone. They are as follows:

— the creation of decent living conditions and the free development of the personality and man's social protection with an efficient market economy based on the equality of private and other forms of ownership;

— the full sovereignty of each people, regardless of their size;

— promotion of the country's peaceful transition to the condition of a humane democratic state based on the rule of law.

For the realization of these goals we propose that all democratic parties, organizations, movements, and nonparty persons of our republic come together in the "Democratic Russia" movement based on the Russian Parliament, the Moscow City Soviet, the Leningrad City Soviet, and other democratic authorities. A most important task of the movement is realization of the Russian Government's economic program.

Second, this will be a parliamentary, reform party, which at the elections will struggle to win seats in the organs of power of all levels in an honest struggle with other parties.

Finally, it will be a party based on general democratic principles providing for extensive debate as the basic mechanism of the development of intraparty democracy and guaranteeing the rights of the minority, including the freedom to form factions and groups. It will be a voluntary alliance of equal and sovereign parliamentary parties of various republics of a center-left political orientation.

Preparation of the future party's program and statutory documents has now been completed. They will be submitted for discussion by regional conferences of the Democratic Platform to be held in September 1990. It is planning to hold the constituent congress at the end of October-November 1990, and the democratic assembly to form the voluntary alliance of parties of various republics adhering to the Democratic Platform, in November 1990.

All information concerning the new party may be obtained by telephoning 255-91-15.

Split in 'Democratic Russia' Block Analyzed

90UN2718C Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 34, 25-31 Aug 90 p 6

[Interview with RSFSR People's Deputy S. Yushenkov, officer in the USSR Armed Forces, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent A. Binev; place and date not specified: "Democracy and Radicalism"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] *At the First RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Congress of People's Deputies, a 33d group was registered—the "Radical Democrats," an offshoot from the "Democratic Russia" bloc. Is this not a split in the democratic body of the congress which has been gathering strength? This and other questions are addressed by RSFSR People's Deputy S. Yushenkov, an officer in the USSR Armed Forces, in conversation with our correspondent A Binev.*

[Yushenkov] There existed a certain consensus between the group "Communists of Russia" (KR) and the "Democratic Russia" (DR) bloc in nominating candidates to the republic Supreme Soviet, but a majority of the "Communists of Russia" group voted unexpectedly for a different slate. As a result, the democratic forces lost a significant number of seats in the parliament. The fact of the matter is that formation of the Supreme Soviet was an extremely important question for the congress, but it was handled by the old apparat methods. The composition of the Supreme Soviet turned out to be more conservative than that of the congress itself. All this has led to the necessity of forming an opposition group from "Democratic Russia" deputies—55 individuals.

We adhere most consistently to positions of the basic bloc (DR) and advocate dissolution of the Supreme Soviet with transfer of all its functions to the Congress of People's Deputies.

[Binev] Who among the most recognized leaders of "Democratic Russia" supported your opposition?

[Yushenkov] M. Bocharov, T. Koryagina, O. Rumyantsev, V. Sheynis, M. Chelnokov, B. Denisenko, B. Kurkova, A. Tikhomirov, M. Salye, and others...

[Binev] Does it not seem to you that this detracts from the problems the people's deputies are called upon today to resolve?

[Yushenkov] I do not agree with this. Formation of the group "Radical Democrats" expanded the spectrum of possible variations in constructive political decisions. The "center," consisting of a significant portion of the democratic forces—including B.N. Yeltsin, is obtaining greater opportunities for maneuver. An example is the vote for the "Decree on Power." Our "pressure" was so great that B.N. Yeltsin managed without any particular trouble to obtain the adoption of supposedly compromise documents.

In addition, the opposition contains guarantees within itself of the irreversibility of democratic transformations.

[Binev] Do we need radicalism now—in such a "time of troubles?"

[Yushenkov] This very concept, of course, hides within itself a source of instability. Radicals are adherents of decisive action, extreme views, radical transformations. But today we are witnessing not just a radical reinterpretation of so-called "communist values," but a rejection of these as well, even in CPSU practice. To the degree that universal human values are confirmed, we will become more and more "conservative"...

[Binev] And so, are you an anticommunist?

[Yushenkov] No. Communist doctrine contains a great many universal human values. I accept this doctrine in its entirety in the sphere of ideas for the comprehensive development of the individual, and I agree with the assertion that the free development of each person is a condition for the free development of all.

[Binev] All the same, the attempt to repudiate "communist values" was not crowned by success, as the most recent CPSU congress showed. In this regard, it seems to me you are not accurate when you assert that the party of communists rejects its ideals "as well."

[Yushenkov] No, it is not quite that way. Communist parties declared their values and ideals only as a final goal, flatly ignoring Marx's warning that not only the goal but the path to achieving it as well must be true. It is these declarations that they are presently rejecting.

[Binev] You are a military person, a lieutenant colonel and instructor in the philosophy department of the Military-Political Academy, which awards diplomas to Army "commissars." And suddenly you declare that you are leaving the ranks of the CPSU. What is this, betrayal?

[Yushenkov] No, this testifies to my consistency. I left the party because I believe that, under conditions of a multiparty system—which we have actually already come to—military servicemen should refrain from joining any party. Although I understand that most servicemen will find it extremely difficult to follow my example or that of V. Lopatin. The Army and law enforcement organs must serve the law and the people, and not party ambitions. I believe that the Main Political Administration should be reorganized, taken out from under the CPSU Central Committee and subordinated to the Supreme Soviet of the country, or to the minister of defense if he is a civilian.

Democracy will be in danger as long as any party holds complete sway of domination in the Armed Forces.

Tactics of Democratic Party of Russia Assailed

90UN2742A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 30 Aug 90 pp 2-3

[Article by P. Papulov, doctor of philosophical sciences: "An Accusatory Bent: On the Subject of an Ultimatum Presented by the Democratic Party of Russia"]

[Text] Yes, the country's parliament has been given an ultimatum. The words of the "Appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet" merely mask the true character of this document. Judge for yourselves. After four demands are made in almost military language, a summary follows: "In the event that they are ignored we shall reserve for ourselves the right to appeal directly to the people and to call for a general strike." And the signature: the Board of the Democratic Party of Russia. This was all published in the recent second issue of the new newspaper DEMOKRATICHESKAYA ROSSIYA.

The essence of the ultimatum is as follows:
1) the government of the USSR must be dissolved;
2) the program of the Gorbachev-Yeltsin commission on transforming the country's economy must be adopted (as if it could not be adopted without an order from the Democratic Party of Russia!);
3) a coalition government must be formed that enjoys the trust of the people and is capable of implementing that program;
4) the property of the CPSU must be nationalized... After which we have the threatening "in the event..."

I think that these kinds of "appeals" cannot go unanswered. These kinds of firebrand ultimatums go way beyond the framework of political opposition, and I believe that even the tone of this "Appeal" is insulting to the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The destructive role of this action for the country and the people is obvious.

Those who drew up the document claim that they are expressing the opinion of the country's working movement. Is not this claim perhaps a little presumptuous? There are more and more soberly thinking people among the members of the strike movement. And to judge from reports from those same coal basins, today a change has been observed in the attitudes of the miners toward solving problems without confrontation with the USSR government. But our "democrats" are not calmed. No "peaceful approach" can be seen in their immediate goals and tactical reckonings; they just want trouble.

What is hidden behind this ultimatum? Its logic is simple: If communist Nikolay Ryzhkov, and together with him the CPSU, gradually organize things and finally the people begin to feel the first beneficial results of the program implemented by the government, then the chances of political success for the Democratic Party of Russia and its leaders decline sharply. So it is question of "the worse it is the better it is.", a well-known logic....

Let us be candid: The Democratic Party of Russia has emerged on the waves of political meetings and speculative opposition against the CPSU by a certain section of the anticommunist lobby. And so naturally its basic methods in the political struggle (or more accurately, the struggle for existence) are confrontation, ultimatums, and "playing" on the difficulties that the country has been facing in recent years, and on the mistakes that the CPSU is still making. The aplomb with which the "democrats" abuse our party, ascribing to millions of communists all the sins of the Stalin and Brezhnev leadership, is simply astonishing.

Up to now the Democratic Party of Russia has not issued any coherent program or charter. There are just the numerous statements by its leaders in the press. And in addition to the above-mentioned "Appeal" to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the second issue of DEMOKRATICHESKAYA ROSSIYA carried an article by N. Travkin, chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia, "Will the Bolsheviks Yield Power to the Soviet?" And both the headline and the entire article were impregnated with a yearning for power.

There is no doubt that Nikolay Travkin has considerable experience in political activities. He has twice been a deputy, of the USSR and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. The question involuntarily arises: Why is a respected people's deputy, who in his election speeches promised the voters that he would defend their interests and devote his activity as a deputy to the cause of the renewal of society initiated in 1985, 18 months later make a 180-degree turn, quit the CPSU, and start a noisy campaign against the CPSU course of perestroyka? A strange metamorphosis, but today one that is not that infrequent...

In order to gain some understanding of communist Travkin's political-cultural battle, let us examine his "credo" as set forth in his article. It is the author's opinion that the Bolsheviks will not give up power voluntarily. But there is obviously something weak about his argument. He builds it by contrasting our party and the soviets. The soviets supposedly defend the interests of the people while "the CPSU is now an antipeople party." Totally absurd! But it turns out that Travkin is ready to present the "proof." This is it, if you please: The people gave instructions to the Congress of People's Deputies "not to elect Polozkov," and the deputies did not elect him. True, the author remains silent about where and when the people (but not the "representatives" who have appropriated to themselves the right speak in their name) issued this instruction to the congress. But, ignoring the will of the people, the communists did act, and they continue to incite Nikolay's Ilich's passions, and, in contrary fashion, at their own congress elected Polozkov as leader of the RSFSR Communist Party. Is this not proof, he says, of the "antipeople" behavior of the communists?

Here we have a dogged, not to say importunate desire to offer one's own personal opinion as the voice of all the people; which, I note, is typical of the Democratic Party of Russia chairman.

But let us return to the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies, which supposedly expressed the unanimous will of the people by not electing I.K. Polozkov to the post of chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. But we are all aware that there was no unanimity. The deputies were split into virtually two equal halves and it was only a shift of just one or two votes in favor of B.N. Yeltsin that enable him to occupy that crucial post. So it is to say the least incorrect to pretend that the results of this vote represented the opinion of all the people.

Travkin also sees the CPSU's "antipeople nature" in the fact that its organizations function in the production collectives and the state organs. And for that reason he demands that the party committees be removed from all those spheres. You see, he is even sure that "this will all happen this year." I think that the chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia is again expressing the desired as the reality, again touting his own opinion as the will of the people. "Impatience" leads him on... Even in the Donbass, where the latter-day Robespierres are trying to implement the ideas of their spiritual mentor, by no means all the mining collectives have taken that doubtful step.

It is obvious that the leaders of the Democratic Party of Russia (like some other parties) are dreaming of the ancient myth of Hercules, who was able to smother the previously invincible Antheus only by separating him from the earth as his source of power. But we communists also understand the lessons of Antheus. And we rightly say that the present-day "Hercules" lack the strength to separate the CPSU from the soil in which it was born and in which it developed. Only individual members of the CPSU can be separated from the people, even from its leaders and those in their immediate surroundings. This has happened. You cannot discard the facts of history, just as you cannot discard the words

of a song. The party has condemned these distortions and learned its lesson from them. No matter how those who wish us ill try to equate the entire party with those politicians who swore to be loyal to Lenin's course but in fact grossly distorted it, the vast majority of communists have always been convinced, and I am sure that they still are, of the correct and humanitarian ideas of socialism as set forth in the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

It must be admitted that restructuring our psychology, like restructuring of the psychology of all who support renewal of the CPSU, has been extremely difficult matter. Because renewal of the CPSU has not been simple, and barriers probably still lie ahead... In this present situation, which is very complicated for the communists, their hour of trial, their hour of choice, has arrived. Some are choosing the extremely difficult path, associated with considerable risk, of revolutionary transformation of society on the foundations of the socialist choice and communist perspectives. Others prefer not to get involved in policy but to take a wait-and- see position. Yet others support the basic ideas of perestroyka but are looking for their own ways to achieve it, creating platforms within the CPSU or outside it. Finally, some are creating anticommunist parties and movements and beginning to wage an uncompromising struggle against the party.

To judge from the loud statements coming from Travkin, the party that he leads belongs to the last-named category. And although in his article he does try to disown the anticommunist nature of his party, he obviously does not succeed in this.

How is it, Travkin exclaims, making himself out to be a simpleton (or perhaps thinking that we are simpletons?), that the concept of "anticommunism" has been linked to the formation of the Democratic Party of Russia? He says that the mass media have deceived the public. I had "nothing of the kind" in mind. You see, "there was simply a need... to destroy the monopoly of power and transfer it to the soviets."

How do you like that?! As if the CPSU had not stated right from the start of perestroyka its intention to transfer power to the soviets. As if it had not then renounced, as the 28th CPSU Congress confirmed so decisively, political and ideological monopoly, interference in the functions of the organs of state and economic management... Now, when the second stage of the political reform is complete, the party, the 28th CPSU Congress announced, sees its task in promoting the establishment of the newly created organs of popular power and giving them new powers. It it precisely the CPSU that has set for society and for itself the task of transferring power to the soviets. And it is consistently pursuing that end and removing the many difficulties that are arising one after the other. But no, Travkin simply "fails to hear" any of this! "The soviets," he instructs us in the style of a school teacher, "will be unable to carry out a single reform (!), on not only the economic but also the political plane, unless they have a means to ensure ideological and political support. There must be a mass political force that. .."

So what kind of a "force" is this? What kind of "means"? We are left in no doubt at all about this. For, again citing Travkin, "the means whereby the policy of reform can be explained and implemented is ultimately the Democratic Party of Russia and its factions in the soviets." And then Nikolay Ilich's didactic tone is replaced with a tone of command: The entire structure of the soviet organs must in two or three years, "not longer," elect a "normal parliament," the numerical strength of the local soviets must be reduced, and so forth. What is this if not diktat? I confess that I have suggested that Travkin is advocating diktat with respect to the soviets, but it becomes clear that he is advising diktat over the soviets.

In any event, after these kinds of "clarifications" it is difficult to believe in the sincerity of the intentions of the Democratic Party of Russia, which is openly—and this is stated in the article—setting itself the goal of fighting the communists for power and of transferring it to the soviets. Yes, and even the CPSU—I know I am repeating this over and over—is itself, more than anyone, interested in having the new organs of power formed from top to bottom through democratic election (and, as the 28th CPSU Congress noted, this is one of the main gains of perestroyka), and in passing through the period of consolidation more quickly.

Incidentally, until recently Travkin was widely known in the country only as a construction innovator. Heading up first a section and then a trust, and soon an administration, it must be admitted that he did introduce many progressive ideas into the organization and management of construction. Do we need to remind you that the rapid flight of the diffident brigade leader to all- Union fame became possible largely thanks directly to the active support that he received for his first modest and then more intuitive innovations by the party organs, right up to the CPSU Central Committee, and, of course, the mass media. And suddenly he makes an unpredictable zigzag! But there is a reason for everything.

Five years ago I became acquainted (when I was working in the production management department at the Moscow State University) with what was at that time an original concept conceived by N. Travkin for the management of a labor collective, and in particular with his ideas on setting up an economic council at the enterprise. At that time my attention was also drawn to the fact that Nikolay Ilich saw only himself as the chief of that council at his own enterprise. And no one else! He substantiated this theoretically by the thought that, in his opinion, only a leader who is given power is capable of "mastering a situation," and of proposing to the council the only (!) correct decisions. The other members of the council were essentially given the role of mere extras.

Later, observing his temperamental statements on television I became convinced that Nikolay Ilich is not at all inclined to listen to the opinion of others and is very

upset by criticism directed at himself. His verbal and written styles are typified by their peremptory, self-opinionated nature, and a certain vanity.

Hence the tone of ultimatum in the "Appeal" to the USSR Supreme Soviet and its assessment of the CPSU as an "antipeople party." It is the autocratic feature of character that has unfortunately often interfered, and, as we see, still does interfere today, in the objective evaluation of social phenomena and processes. Having once set out on the road of confrontation he can no longer turn back to another path. This also explains why Travkin and the members of his small but already widely advertised party have, in my opinion, found themselves way out on the right flank, even though they are strongly depicting themselves as very leftist democrats.

It is common knowledge that the communists are in no way opposed to opposition political parties operating, with their own goals and programs. They are not against a struggle for power and influence among the workers. But only within the framework of political standards and political methods! In civilized countries no self-respecting party allows itself to engage in open blackmail and ultimatums addressed to its own parliament in order to remove other political parties from power. In our times, under the conditions of an explosive situation, such methods are the more unacceptable and intolerable. And when your former comrades in the CPSU use them, they really are shameful and bitter to the soul.

Letter Defends Democratic Party of Russia

90UN2729A Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 8 Aug 90 p 2

[Letter from Aleksandr Sushkov, coordinator of the organization of the Democratic Party of Russia in Dzerzhinskiy Rayon, responding to Yu. Belkin article in the 31 July VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA and comments on it by V. Davydov: "The Multiparty System: Listen to One Another. The Truth is Dearer"]

[Text] Yu. Belkin's article about the constituent conference of the Democratic Party of Russia entitled "Symbols Are Not the Main Thing" in the 31 July issue of VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA leaves one with a strange impression. What is strange is the author's unique handling of the facts. For example, it is asserted in the article that from the very beginning "N. Travkin set a condition: Either he would be the chairman of the party or he would remain a rank-and-file member of it." I do not know at which meeting of the initiative group Yu. Belkin heard these words: Neither I nor anyone else who participated in the preparatory work can remember anything of the kind.

The essence of Travkin's statements was quite different: If we really want to create a strong party that is capable of standing up to the CPSU it must have a clear cut structure headed by the chairman. We were speaking precisely about the organizational structure and not about any personal factor, which Nikolay Ilich confirmed at the constituent conference when he said that he would be the first to shake the hand of the new chairman whoever he may be.

Yu. Belkin goes on to report on some split that is supposed to have occurred at the conference. What really happened? Of the 332 delegates whose authority was confirmed by the mandate commission, 287 participated in the voting. It is easy to calculate that the difference was 45 people. Did all of them "make a show of leaving the hall"..."speaking out against the rigid authoritarian tendencies in the party"? When we look attentively we discover a curious fact: Because of an unforeseen delay a good half of the conference participants were forced to leave early in order to catch a train or plane—after all, the privileges for transportation and hotel accommodations envisioned for people's deputies or delegates of "forums" of the CPSU do not extend to members of the Democratic Party of Russia. What kind of "split" in the Democratic Party of Russia could he be talking about?

An even stranger impression is left by V. Davydov's comments on the article. It would be interesting to know what the author was basing his statements on when he said, in particular, that "N.I. Travkin's proposals were not supported" by participants in the first congress of the labor conference in Novokuznetsk. Even the first secretary of the Kemerovo CPSU Obkom [Oblast Committee], A. Melnikov, after the congress was forced to recognize "the possibility of forming a new political party of workers" which would "oppose the CPSU" (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 17 May 1990, p. 4). Were these ideas really not confirmed during the miners' political strike on 11 July?

And how do you like the assertion that if the CPSU is removed from power we will have anarchy in the country? It is terrible even to think of what would happen to us all! The only thing one cannot understand is how people in the civilized world get along without a monopoly of communists. And they live as well as we do.

Finally, Yu. Belkin refers to the "arbitrary handling" of the party symbols and V. Davydov strikes an accompanying blow: The Democratic Party of Russia is actually not a party. And in order to make sure that nobody has any doubts—God forbid—he clarifies: "They have created only the central structures, which are not reinforced by the corresponding lower organizations." Excuse me!

It is simply impossible to believe that neither the author nor the editor responsible for the material tried to verify the facts. One phone call to the Board of the Democratic Party of Russia—and both the author of the article and, no doubt, the "commentator" are well aware of where it is—would be enough to find out that lower structures of the Democratic Party of Russia exist in 190 population points of Russia from Kaliningrad to Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, from Severodvinsk to Krasnodar, and that divisions of the city Democratic Party of Russia organization are active in all 33 rayons of Moscow. And they

are not engaged in a game of thinking up symbols (like those who try as hard as they can to declare their political ambitions and even from their first steps are armed with a full set of emblems) but in concrete work: the establishment of ties with the deputies and the formation of party groups in the soviets, preparation for the fall by-elections to the organs of power, the nomination of candidate people's assessors, the polling of the population on concrete issues of the rayon, the disclosure and verification of cases of abuse at enterprises and in institutions, particularly in the distribution of apartments, cooperative activity, participation in the ecology movement, and information- propaganda work...

Incidentally, "those who have ears can hear and those who have eyes can see." But for the Doubting Thomas it is possible, as they say, to grope his way through all this. All he has to do is want to.

As for symbols, there is no argument: Symbols are not the main thing.

One time, when talking about disagreements with his wise mentor, Aristotle proclaimed: "Plato is my friend but truth is dearer to me." Esteemed author and "commentator," I bow before your courage and originality in dealing with the facts but there is no way I can agree with your actions. But what I cannot disagree with is that "The Democratic Party of Russia...can acquire"—and already is acquiring—"considerable weight in the political life of our society."

[Signed] Respectfully, Aleksandr Sushkov, coordinator of the Democratic Party of Russia organization in Dzerzhinskiy Rayon.

P.S. In order to avoid deliberate or accidental distortion, I request that you make no corrections to the text. If you abridge it I request that you call: 201-39-07 (at the Historical-Archaeological Institute) or 395-85-88 (home) at any time of the day or night. **FROM THE EDITORS.** We have granted the author's request: Not a single word in the letter has been corrected.

Russian Democratic Party Leader Criticized

90UN2729B Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 17 Aug 90 p 2

[Letter by V. Kriger, former member of the organizing committee of the Democratic Party of Russia: "Why Can I Not Enter the Party I Created Myself"]

[Text] **Twice recently VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA has addressed the subject of the origin of a new social organization—the Democratic Party of Russia. But it turns out that the discussion is not over. Why? You will learn the answer to this question when you read the letter published below.**

It is difficult to speak out against a party in whose creation one participated from the very beginning but as I see how the so-called Democratic Party of Russia is gathering force I cannot remain silent.

Well, what kind of a party is it that any person on the street may enter?! They do not ask for a guarantee and sometimes they do not even hold a conversation when people enter. If you are a communist they will accept you too. No problem. You can leave the CPSU when it becomes dangerous. And what about your political principles and your moral foundations—these things bother nobody at all. I asked a Democratic Party of Russia activist from Moscow's Oktyabrskiy Rayon how their leaders intend to work with all of these people later. Without blinking an eye he answered that they will worry about that later but the most important thing now was to increase the numbers.

As I understood it, the purge would come later when they had the necessary numbers.

Think about the purpose for which "Travkin's men" are forcing admission into the Democratic Party of Russia. They are even organizing their own party committees at enterprises. They are competing with the CPSU. Hand to hand, fist to fist. They say that certain CPSU party committees are switching completely to the Democratic Party of Russia. So communists and anticommunists will be all together. Again there will be party meetings and anticommunist Saturdays... Is it really not yet clear to the Travkin "democrats" that there can be no party organizations in production but only trade unions that defend the rights of the workers and employees?

Another means used by the Democratic Party of Russia to augment its ranks is quite inadmissible and harmful to democracy. I am speaking about collective membership in the Democratic Party of Russia by other associations, movements, and organizations. These social structures bring together people with altogether different political orientations. For example, the Shchit organization (a union for the protection of military servicemen, individuals with military obligations, and their families) has been accepted into the Democratic Party of Russia as a collective member, and so all members of the Democratic Party of Russia have against their will been put into the same party with communists, since, except for the rank-and-file, as a rule the military are members of the CPSU.

Or let us say that I enter an organization that wants to enter the Democratic Party of Russia and I do not want to. What can I do then—withdraw from the organization? Or if half of the members of the organization want to enter the Democratic Party of Russia and the other half do not? Then collective membership in the Democratic Party of Russia could split a democratic movement. But the leaders of the Democratic Party of Russia are not worried about the tender living shoots of democracy. They did not create these movements. But they would like very much to adorn themselves with another bow like that of "Shchit" or "April." Nikolay Ilich should accept into the Democratic Party of Russia as a collective member the entire Moscow interregional party group—that would be great: Travkin himself would be

the chairman and Popov along with Afanasyev and Sobchak could all be his deputies!

One thing for certain is that you cannot deny that Nikolay Ilich applies pressure. I do not know whether this is in his character or whether he learned it in the Higher Party School where he studied in 1988-1989. He announced outright at a conference to correspondents before the decisive vote: "Either I will be the sole chairman of the party or I will take my toys and go!" Even though the draft charter of the Democratic Party of Russia does not envision a single chairman—only cochairmen.

And what kind of friend and adviser to Chairman Travkin is Comrade Georgiy Fedorovich Khatsenkov, whom Nikolay Ilich dragged in as a deputy! Now here is a person distinguished by his intelligence, sharpness, and grasp of business!

Here is a person who is a master of party organization! And he has a great deal of experience in working with informal democrats. Comrade Khatsenkov did not acquire this experience just anywhere but in the CPSU Central Committee, in the department for party construction and personnel work! Building an anticommunist party in the evenings, Georgiy Fedorovich continued during the mornings in his regular job to strengthen the ranks of the CPSU, from which he himself withdrew only on the eve of the constituent conference of the Democratic Party of Russia—without even changing clothes.

But I cannot understand whether the ardent anticommunist Khatsenkov was "found out" by the leaders of the CPSU Central Committee or the communist Comrade Khatsenkov was "found out" by Travkin's anticommunists. Or perhaps they both knew about his many-sided talents...

In any case I want you, esteemed readers, to know about this.

There are also factions in the Democratic Party of Russia, the so-called "Kasparov" faction and the faction of "free democrats." Soon after the conference Kasparov himself went abroad. And then the deputy-democrats joined the faction. It was as though they were speaking out against the authoritarian leadership of the Democratic Party of Russia. But for some reason they did not notice the fact that under their very noses some of the leaders of the Russian People's Front, which appeared out of nowhere and became a part of the Democratic Party of Russia, were pocketing thousands of rubles collected by members of this organization during rallies of the Moscow Voters' Association. And a certain A. Brumel, on behalf of the faction, signed a document concerning the entry of "free democrats" into the "centrist moderate-radical block of political parties and movements."

Then the members of the faction had to renounce the block through the central press. Khatsenkov also became a "free democrat" and also ending up there were members of the "Svoboda" bloc from the Moscow Voters' Association who, stamping their feet and shouting "Give us democracy!" repeatedly tried to break up the meeting. Everyone finds shelter in the Democratic Party of Russia. There it is, the large size! But in the meantime there were no leaders at the Moscow constituent conference of the Democratic Party of Russia. So the conference could not elect a chairman. And this in Moscow with its many millions of people!

Let us return to Nikolay Ilich. I shall not discuss in detail how before the split in the constituent conference of the Democratic Party of Russia I went to see him several times at the presidium and asked him to spare the newborn party, to have patience, and to attend at least the fall congress as cochairman. My arguments were in vain. Now, two months after the conference, I am still asking myself the question: Why did Travkin have to split the conference with a vote concerning himself? As a result of his actions the "Mensheviks" (representatives of 19 cities of Russia) left the conference and a faction was organized which included almost all members of the Democratic Party of Russia organizing committee.

And it turns out that this whole split was accomplished so that one and a half months later they could announce that Nikolay Ilich would leaving the post of chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia to take the position of a committee chairman in the Russian parliament. I will not allow myself to think that at the conference Travkin did not foresee his forthcoming election in the parliament.

Nikolay Ilich has accused us Muscovites who left of ambition. He says we left because we did not manage to become cochairmen. What a primitive explanation! And it explains nothing. There is nothing wrong with the fact that the Moscow democrats wanted to see in the leadership of the party which had rejected communist ideology at least one Muscovite who had not sworn to be true to communism.

I am not speaking about myself but about Lev Ponomarev, a Russian people's deputy, a member of the Supreme Soviet, chairman of the subcommittee for ties with social organizations, and doctor of physical and mathematical sciences. While Travkin was sitting in the obkoms and studying at the higher party school, Lev Ponomarev was growing up alongside the democratic movement.

He is one of the creators of the Memorial Society, the official representative for Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov in the elections for USSR people's deputies, a member of the coordination council of the Moscow Voters' Association, and the organizer of all the rallies held in Luzhniki in the summer of 1989. The Democratic Party of Russia is also his brainchild. Travkin with his Democratic Platform came to Ponomarev from the CPSU when much had already been done. Now that he is leaving the conference of the Democratic Party of Russia

Lev Ponomarev is continuing the work of creating a democratic party from below, from informal democratic associations. The organizing committee of the Free Democratic Party of Russia (SvDPR) was registered on 26 June 1990.

I am saying all this not to sing the praises of the person with whom I work but simply so that it will be clear to everyone that an intelligent democratic politician would not abandon such people for the sake of his own chairmanship or for the sake of people who think like him from Staraya Ploshchad.

The division for party construction and personnel work "swindled" the democrats. That was the only thing they could do. They had no connections with the democrats. If I had not gathered representatives of informal movements from all over Russia for this conference it would have been only communists who would have founded this anticommunist party. That would have been pretty! Then they would not have had to argue about the organizing committee: Whether or not to give CPSU members the right to vote.

I realize that this letter could be regarded as an attack from someone who has been offended. Yes, I was offended. Of course, not by the fact that I did not end up in the leadership of the Democratic Party of Russia. I am a small person in politics and I have no ambitions to be cochairman. I am offended for the democratic movement whose ideas are again being distorted by party apparatchiks like Khatsenkov.

Garri Kasparov is a temperamental person. On the eve of the conference he shouted along with us that he had been deceived more than any of us, that he found it revolting to return but now return he must...

He has returned and I cannot. I want to enter a party which is honest from the very beginning and not some anticommunist party which is simply not a communist one.

Rejecting the institution of cochairmen in the party, Nikolay Ilich frightened the democrats by saying that cochairmanship would lead to irresponsible leadership and declared his readiness to take on his shoulders the entire responsibility for the future of the republic. Terrible words. We have heard them before. Responsibility, Nikolay Ilich, is largely making sure that nobody sees what you are doing.

[Signed] V. Kriger, former member of the organizing committee of the Democratic Party of Russia **FROM THE EDITORS. The letter from V. Kriger, who participated directly in the creation of the Democratic Party of Russia, confirms the reliability of the article by Yu. Belkin in VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, "Symbols Are Not the Main Thing" (31 July of this year). The facts presented in the response from A. Sushkov, "The Truth is Dearer" (8 August of this year), refuting the article by our correspondent conflict with reality. In this connection there arises a question: If representatives of a new social organization which claims the role of a democratic party begin their activity with disinformation, can one be sure that the program and charter it proclaims will be observed in real life? I should like to believe that A. Sushkov's letter is nothing but vexing blunders and not deliberate discrediting of his party.**

Christian Democrat Leader Discusses Patriotism

PM3108154790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Viktor Aksyuchits, chairman of the Russian Christian Democratic Party Council, by unidentified KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent under the rubric "Who's Who"; place and date not given: "Russia's Christian Democrats"—first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] We continue to acquaint readers with the views of new parties on questions of defense and military building.

Our correspondent had a meeting with Viktor Aksyuchits, chairman of the Russian Christian Democratic Party Council. He is 49 years old. He went through naval school and did compulsory service in the Navy. He graduated from Moscow State University and studied Christian philosophy. He considers this to be his main profession and has spent a great deal of time studying the philosophical problems of Russia's rebirth. He is now a member of the board of a joint Soviet-Panamanian enterprise and head of publishing. He is an RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputy, elected in Moscow.

[Correspondent] Viktor Vladimirovich, what are your memories of naval service?

[Aksyuchits] Good, on the whole. But I will not hide the fact that I have mixed impressions. I served two years as a radio operator on several ships in the Baltic Fleet. Then, in the third year, I started working in the political department of a guided missile force. Anyway, about my memories. I am not a supporter of extremes in any respect regarding the Army and Navy. Because I know that the Navy tries to use the traditions of Russian seamen. Traditions which naval personnel can preserve and develop. If you should need our assistance in this, all you have to do is ask....

I consider the Armed Forces' main shortcoming to be their strong ideologization. It only gets in the way. When I became a member of the political department I had the opportunity to attend all party meetings of the division directorate. It was then that I realized (as a rule, shortcomings were always discussed honestly) that the professional level of many seamen is fairly low. I visited many ships (during gunnery exercises, in particular) and began to think about why that should be so.

[Correspondent] And what conclusions did you reach?

[Aksyuchits] I feel that the system used then—and still used now, probably—to train seamen and petty officers was inefficient. Take the various kinds of economic work, help for rural areas, and so forth, for example. In my time seamen were often engaged in other people's business. But if one link is taken out the whole chain of instruction falls apart. There is no time left to rebuild it, because the seamen are already beginning to prepare to transfer to the reserve. I could back all this up with examples, but it is not the main topic of our conversation. I will just make the suggestion that seamen should do service on contract.

[Correspondent] Judging by your answers, you used to be a member of the CPSU....

[Aksyuchits] I left the Communist Party 11 years ago on political and religious grounds.

[Correspondent] Christianity in Russia has always taken a positive attitude, shall we say, to the defense of our country and has often even acted as arbiter in these matters. What are your party's views on this?

[Aksyuchits] Our party is based on the same principles. The defense of our country is something sacred. But the Army must now be deideologized and really restored to popular, national sources. That is possible: The roots are there. Our party is in favor of a gradual transition to a professional army. But we are opposed to abrupt, sudden cuts being made.... We must give a thought to people. Former officers are now in a disastrous position. We will also protect them. Any reform must proceed gradually.

[Correspondent] And is that made clear in your party's program documents?

[Aksyuchits] Yes.

[Correspondent] Could you tell me how many supporters you have?

[Aksyuchits] We have no premises of our own and we are having difficulties with the mass media. New members are registered at activists' apartments. I cannot give you any exact figures at present. But I can say for sure that we already have more than 20,000 members. We received 10 letters from people asking to join the party after my speech at the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies, for example. [Aksyuchits ends]

Viktor Aksyuchits was nominated as a candidate for the post of chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. He mainly based his candidate's program on propaganda of the Christian Democrats' ideological principles. He later stood down as a candidate. At the congress he also proposed that the RSFSR be given a new official name: the Russian Federation. This proposal did not get through.

[Correspondent] What is the future of your party?

[Aksyuchits] Russians will be attracted by our main idea: enlightened patriotism. What does this mean? It means love for our country, our people, and their history and culture. There is no place for nationalism, chauvinism, or enmity. Enlightened patriotism is an absence of extremism.

[Correspondent] How does your party differ from Christian movements and parties in the West?

[Aksyuchits] Our views are based on Orthodox values. Orthodoxy is the spiritual property of our nation.

Kalugin Gives Interviews on Election Victory

IZVESTIYA 5 Sep

PM0609131990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

["INTERFAX" report: "Interview With Deputy O. Kalugin"]

[Text] As is known, the second round of USSR people's deputies elections has taken place in Krasnodar Kray. Former KGB General Oleg Kalugin won, taking 57.9 percent of the vote. After the election results had been announced Oleg Kalugin was interviewed by an "INTERFAX" correspondent:

[Correspondent] How do you see your victory?

[Kalugin] I see it as undeniable evidence that the process of democratic changes under way in the center has also spread to the periphery. In the Kuban, which has hitherto been a conservative stronghold and where "Medunov and Company" ruled for decades, the process of the masses' revolutionary awakening resulted in election defeat for candidates from the party and soviet apparatus and in victory for the democratic forces whom I represented. I hope that the changes in the Kuban will also affect the process of the further revolutionization of the masses in other remote corners of the country. I now feel a great debt of gratitude to the tens of thousands of voters who plumped for me. Essentially, they were expressing confidence in and support for radical democratic forces.

[Correspondent] What will your first actions be at the USSR Supreme Soviet?

[Kalugin] I hope that the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Defense and State Security will see fit to invite me along for a talk, during which I hope to set out some facts indicative of the real state of affairs in the USSR KGB—facts hitherto unknown either to our people or even to the country's leadership. I have advocated and I am advocating the depoliticization of KGB organs and the dismantling of those structures that have hitherto been involved with political investigation. This imperils the process of democratization of political and social life in the country. KGB representatives engaged in political investigation have been active in Krasnodar too. They have had members of my support staff under surveillance, although none of us has ever advocated the violent overthrow of the existing system in the country.

We favor the constitutional path of transition to a civil society through democratic elections. Who were the KGB officers in Krasnodar working for, in that case? Primarily, I think, for members of the conservative section of the leadership, for bankrupt leaders who, although they do not have the people's backing, are still reluctant to relinquish the boss' chair. I think it would be far more useful for the country and for society to employ these KGB officers not in political investigation, but in the fight against actual crime and elements hostile toward the country, who are still present in our society.

Moscow TV 7 Sep

LD0409220890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1953 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent V. Obrztsov in Kuban from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Obraztsov] Oleg Danilovich Kalugin has had many such meetings with the inhabitants of the Kuban. But at this one, he is speaking in the role of USSR people's deputy for the first time. It took place literally an hour after the protocol of the electoral commission had been signed. The former KGB general got 57.94 percent of the votes of the electorate. His rival, Nikolay Ivanovich Gorovoy, who recently became chairman of the Krasnodarsk Kray Executive Committee received just less than 40 percent. Oleg Danilovich, did you yourself believe you could win?

[Kalugin] I believed. I believed in the common sense of our people, the public from Moscow to the outlying areas—and the Kuban is far from being an outlying area—and the fact that today they are no longer able to live in the old way is obvious. Despite all the impediments raised by the apparatus, by the party and KGB [apparatus], I was practically sure that the majority of the people of the Kuban would vote for me.

[Obraztsov] What will be your very first action as a USSR people's deputy?

[Kalugin] Well, probably, the mandates, I mean the official ones, have to be received first. But then, well, I, and I see this as my main task, have to set up a support group in the localities. That is, among the people of the Kuban who will help me decide questions connected with the kray.

Western Republics

Dnestr Organizes 'Provisional Supreme Soviet'

LD0609120890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Anatoliy Golya and Alexander Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev, 5 September (TASS)—A group of deputies of the Moldovan parliament (a republic in the southwestern USSR) who arrived today for a meeting with the residents of Tiraspol, the capital of the proclaimed Dnestr republic, met the city's Mayor Stabnislav Moroz. He said he is guided solely by the decisions of the provisional Supreme Soviet of the republic, and, without its consent, cannot sanction deputies of another republic in Pridnestrovye.

In a conversation with a TASS correspondent, Vyacheslav Zagryatskiy, member of Dnestr Republic Provisional Supreme Soviet Presidium, said: "The formation of state bodies of power is now underway in the republic: The provisional Supreme Soviet Presidium, performing the duties of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, has been elected. Personnel matters concerning the formation of he leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB have been studied, and a commission has been set up to ensure law and order and socialist legality. As for the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldovan Socialist Soviet Republic [SSR] at which the setting up of a 10-thousand-strong police corps was mentioned, if the republic really forms such a unit, appropriate measures will be taken in Tiraspol as well".

With regard to the price increase for cigarettes, wines, and spirits beginning today in Moldavia, Vyacheslav Zagryatskiy noted that prices in effect in the USSR will apply in the Dnestr republic.

"The Dnestr republic declaration has significantly exacerbated the situation in Tiraspol," a TASS correspondent was told by Mikhail Koshkodan, rector of Tiraspol's Taras Shevchenko Pedagogical Institute and a people's deputy of the Moldovan SSR. "People have become agitated and extremely politicized. Until now, there have been no interethnic conflicts at all at the institute. But last night, a sign with an inscription in the Moldovan state language was pulled down from the institute building. A group of students has returned from agricultural work in neighboring Tarakliyskiy Rayon, not wishing to work in 'another' republic."

The provisional Supreme Soviet of the Dnestr republic has adopted an appeal to Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, proposing political and economic cooperation.

Moldavia Suspends Effect of Army Draft Laws

PM0609151790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by Colonel N. Mulyar under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Session Decision"]

[Text] Kishinev, 5 Sep—The extraordinary session of the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova Supreme Soviet ended its work 4 September. A series of documents were adopted, including a resolution on military service by the republic's citizens. It suspends the effect on Moldovan territory of Articles 31, 62, and 63 of the USSR Constitution, the Laws "On Universal Military Service" and "On Criminal Liability for Offenses by

Servicemen," and a series of other legislative acts on the performance of military service.

It is laid down that citizens of the SSR of Moldova cannot be drafted for active military service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces, and prospective draftees cannot be summoned to attend training rallies, until the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet adopts a special decision.

The republic's government has been instructed to establish a department of state for military questions and to begin talks with the USSR Government on the return of Moldovan citizens serving in the ranks of the Soviet Armed Forces by 15 October this year so that they could perform the remainder of their term of service in military units and subunits stationed on the republic's territory. The same resolution provides for the formation of an SSR of Moldova national army. It is emphasized that, as of spring 1991, citizens of the republic will be performing their military service on the republic's territory.

Your correspondent asked Colonel V. Semenchuk, acting military commissar of the SSR of Moldova, to comment on the Supreme Soviet's decision.

"By virtue of a USSR presidential decree, the creation of armed formation is the exclusive prerogative of the USSR exercised by its supreme organs of power and management. Any actions by other organs and organizations to create such formations, regardless of their purpose, are illegal. The Moldovan Supreme Soviet's decision artificially incites the republic's citizens—those who are serving and those about to serve—to break the law. I would like to note that 262 persons refused to serve this year alone, even before this decision was adopted. Ten servicemen from Moldova are still on the wanted list. The possible outcome of this is graphically illustrated by the example of the Baltic Republics, where hundreds of criminal cases have been instituted for refusal to serve."

Moldavian Explanation of Corps of Carabinieri

LD0609171490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] As we have reported, the government of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] decided on 4 September to set up a corps of carabinieri within the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs. A TASS correspondent asked Major General Kastash, minister of internal affairs of the Moldovan SSR [name and title as heard], to comment on the government's decision.

Recruitment to the corps of carabinieri, he replied, will be mixed, including both professionals and conscripts called up in the republic for military service. The corps is to replace the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs units currently deployed on the territory of the republic. Several hundred people have already applied to join the carabinieri. It will not be easy for the republic to maintain such a corps; specialists estimate it will cost hundreds of millions of rubles each year. But the republic's parliament and government are willing to bear this expenditure because the corps will be entrusted with responsible tasks, the main one being to preserve the republic's territorial integrity. In addition, the carabinieri will ensure public order and combat crime.

Radioactive Pollution Found in Brest

LD0609162990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1222 GMT on 6 September carries a six-minute report from Brest by Aleksey Guretskiy on a dangerous source of radioactive contamination, measuring approximately 50 meters by 800 meters, which can be found next to the main entrance of the Brest fortress. Twenty years ago a concealed railway siding was built here to transload radioactive raw material. No one knew anything about it in the town. Even the local authorities knew nothing. When the local authorities found out, they did all they could to have it removed. The transloading site was moved outside town. Some topsoil was removed. Several railcars took it away and dumped it outside town. Radiation readings taken by Donetsk Oblast Nature Protection Committee officials are alarming. The radionuclide contamination levels are very high; in some places the background radiation level is between 700 and 800 microroentgens, many times higher than the permissible level—20, 35, and even 40 times higher. Above ground and up to one meter high the contamination level is between three and four times higher than the permissible level. Breathing the air which contains these radionuclides poses a danger.

What radionuclides are here no one knows and this is even more dangerous. Unfortunately, the contamination zone is freely accessible to people who live nearby or who pass by. The zone is not fenced off. There are no warning signs. This site has been in existence for more than 20 years and up until now everyone has had free access to it. Water wells used by the town are found less than 100 meters from the site where the radioactive material has been transferred. Homes, a kindergarten, and a busy thoroughfare are to be found next to the dump. City fathers are alarmed, but say that they cannot continue the clearing operations, since they do not know what to do with the dangerous soil. They have asked atomic power engineering and railway industries for help.

Caucasus

Armenia's Movsisyan Sends Message to Gorbachev

Threatens To Leave Politburo

NC0509183690 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0900 GMT 5 Sep 90

["Message from Vladimir Movsisyan, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary

of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committe to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich: The situation in the republic is (?extremely) [words indistinct] because of the latest incidents in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon and Getashen village in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic. During contacts at the USSR Supreme Soviet session and with the leadership of the country, on many occasions you brought up the need for the immediate restoration of legal soviet authority in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], the oblast soviet of people's deputies, and oblast party committee. However, despite the well known 28 November 1989 USSR Supreme Soviet resolution and numerous promises made by Lukyanov and other leaders no (?steps) have been taken in this direction. [passage omitted].

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee is aware of its political responsibility to the Armenian people, demands the unconditional implementation of the 28 November decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and calls for the immediate measures to restore the oblast soviet and oblast party committee in the NKAO, to restore the party rayon committees in Gatrutskiy and Shaumyanovskiy Rayons and to remove immediately all the illegal Azerbaijani groups from the Getashen village. The Soviet Army and USSR Internal Troops should be deployed along the borders of the NKAO and in mixed population areas. It is necessary to resolve the situation only through political means in order to prevent the possibility of bloodshed. The constitutional rights of the Armenians should be protected and the final (?resolution) of all those problems related to the normalization of the life of the Armenian population must be ensured.

If you, as the president of the USSR, do not take radical measures in the shortest possible time to stabilize the situation in the NKAO, Shaumyanovskiy, and Getashen, and ensure the security of the people and normalize life there, then the prestige of the Russian Communist Party will be damaged for good. Aware of my own personal responsibility and of the responsibility of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee to the Armenian people, I will be forced to resign from and leave the structure of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

[Moscow TASS in English at 1723 GMT on 5 September 1990 carries an ARMENPRES-TASS datelined item which states that Movsisyan's address to Gorbachev was published in Armenian newspapers on 5 September]

Shatalin Blames Movsisyan for NKAO Situation

LD0609220190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We return to events in the Transcaucasus of which we spoke at the beginning of the program. Our correspondent today met the commander of the Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, Comrade Shatalin:

[Unidentified correspondent] Yuriy Vassiliyevich, according to some media reports, the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh region has once again deteriorated. Just recently, as we know, the first secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee, Movsisyan, made a statement—an appeal to the president of the Soviet Union—accusing the center of inaction and complicity in what is happening in Nagorno-Karabakh.

[Begin Shatalin recording] During the last two days there has been a worsening of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], particularly in Stepanakert, resulting from the fact that by a decision of the Azerbaijan government the number of flights from Yerevan to Stepanakert has been restricted. Thanks to measures taken by the leadership of Azerbaijan civil aviation, the Internal Affairs Directorate of the NKAO, and the commandant of the Special Region, the situation today has stabilized somewhat, and talks have started between the Armenian and Azerbaijan sides on increasing the number of flights.

The situation is said to have become more acute in the village of Shaumyan and Chaykend in Khanlar rayon. This is because units of Azerbaijan's special militia, having operational data on the presence of illegal radio stations which are operating between Shaumyan Rayon and Armenia, and also of the presence of arms in those rayons, carried out the operation already known to our media, to confiscate [izyatiye] those radio stations and a certain quantity of arms, though not as large a quantity as has been reported. This exacerbated the situation to some extent. At the present time, the situation there is calm; no blood is being shed and no lives are being lost, as was bluntly stated in that announcement. Regarding that announcement, I would like to say that that announcement by him was made because he wants to shrug off responsibility and make out that he is not involved in the events that are taking place there. Yet Vadim Movsisyan has for more than 10 years occupied responsible party and soviet posts in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, and above all thanks to not taking measures at the right time, by his inaction, he has largely brought about what is now happening there. And above all I see him as being to blame, and not the central bodies, the president, or the supreme soviet, and still less the Soviet Army and Internal Troops whom he wants to accuse. [end recording]

'Hopeful News' in Armenia; Curfew Shortened

LD0609182690 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Follows a communique by the Soviet Interior Ministry press centre:

Hopeful news is coming more and more frequently from the much-suffering republic. Judging by Soviet Interior Ministry reports, the situation in Armenia is slowly but steadily stabilising. The people's life is changing for the better.

Head of the organisational and inspection department of the Armenian Interior Ministry Sarkisov comments on the situation in the republic.

It is common knowledge that a state of emergency and a curfew were imposed on the entire territory of the republic by the decision of the Armenian parliament on August 29. This measure was prompted by the unlawful actions of the "Armenian National Army [ANA]," a militarised organisation that aggravated the situation in the republic.

The decision to disband the ANA was received with approval by the republic's population—evidence of the people's support of the recently elected democratic government.

The Armenian Interior Ministry agencies have seized, with the active support of public order protection teams and the population, over 110 firearms, including 30 per cent of the automatic guns, 35 anti-hail guns and mortars and some 10,000 rounds of ammunition, including mines, grenades and artillery shells.

As many as 1,19 kilograms [as received] of explosives, 250 metres of bickford fuse and demolition cord, over a thousand electric detonators and explosives were found.

Over 100 stolen motor vehicles were returned to their owners.

Over 20 armed detachments announced that they had disbanded and vacated the premises previously occupied by them.

The crime rate has fallen in the republic. Efforts to combat crime are being intensified. Republican people's deputies and the public are taking an active part in measures that are being implemented. No serious breaches of the curfew have recently been registered in the republic.

Kazaryan, who was recently appointed Armenian interior minister, said on Armenian television on September 5 that these circumstances enabled authorities to trim the curfew by two hours (from 24:00 to 06:00).

All this is evidence of the decisive actions and firm intentions of the Armenian authorities, who managed to break the course of events on their own and create pre-conditions for stabilising the situation in the "republic."

Yerevan Assails Vremya's 'Distorted' Coverage

NC0509175090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Station commentary: "Anachronistic 'Vremya'"]

[Text] On 3 September the main "Vremya" program on central television broadcast impressive scenes for the purpose of sensationalism. Women were harvesting grapes with armed (?soldiers) in the background. The intention was to give the millions of television viewers in our country and abroad the impression that the Azerbaijan population's peaceful work, which is being disrupted by the Armenian guerrillas, is being guaranteed under the (?close) protection of the Army.

In order to further stir up racism the (?film) showed the Azerbaijani population in villages close to the Armenian border being evacuated. Thus [words indistinct] men, women, the elderly, and children were forced each day to hide in the inland villages of Kazakhskiy Rayon. It has become a habit to frighten the broad masses with (?reports) from Transcaucasia. The inspired television operator shows an imposing picture of a (?tank) whose frightening gun is pointed toward Armenia. To whom was that militarized television broadcast aimed when the new Supreme Soviet of Armenia has already gotten the situation in the republic under control and it is improving daily? What is certain is that (?some have not liked) the democratic transformations in Armenia. Therefore, they are trying to discredit the republic's new parliament and are questioning, before the world, its ability to control the situation.

It is no wonder that certain coincidences have occurred. Whenever public indignation in Armenia starts to lessen and the situation gets resolved, the mass media try to create interethnic tension. PRAVDA with his tendentious reports, TASS, the central television, and in particular the statements issued by the so-called press center of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry are particularly successful in this job. You do not know why that choir always works in harmony and coincidentally. Perhaps that brotherhood of writers receive identical orders from the same center. Otherwise, how do you explain the fact that the Azerbaijani women's (?delegation) [words indistinct] were hastily received, as a manifestation of peculiar internationalism, in certain union departments and at the USSR Defense Ministry. It is no secret that for months not even the local commandant, let alone the ordinary people from the borderlands of the country, has managed to meet the occupants of those offices.

What is the real situation in the region today about which "Vremya" does not have the courage to tell to its viewers? Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, chief of the staff of the troops in the sector, told IZVESTIYA that for the last two days no serious incidents took place in Armenia and Azerbaijan. And the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry announced that for the last week the situation along the borders of the two republics has considerably improved because of the efforts of the Armenian parliament.

Isolated incidents are taking place, yet for unknown reasons the central television's own correspondent in Azerbaijan Mamedov has been ashamed to report them. For three days continuously, on 2, 3, and 4 September,

Azerbaijanis attacked the Armenian border villages and plundered petroleum belonging to the public. During these three days 1,004 heads of cattle were stolen, one drover was taken hostage, and an animal breeding farm belonging to one of the Armenian villages in Sisyanskiy Rayon was fired upon with automatic weapons. How could such a thing happen considering that after the introduction of the state of emergency in Azerbaijan a special regime 5-km zone was set up in the regions adjacent to Armenia and put under the full control of the Soviet Army units and Internal Troops? It is obvious that it is not an easy job to steal 1,000 cattle in such a fortification. Do this and similar facts not confirm that the robust young men of the Internal Troops, who bravely display themselves on the Azerbaijani television screen, close their eyes to the irregularities committed by the local guerrillas?

How many times has "Vremya", which claims that its reports are the most reliable and objective, broadcast distorted information? Is it because "Vremya" hears the truth but is unable or unwilling to tell it to the people?

Yerevan Details Flight Situation in Stepanakert

NC0609144790 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Stepanakert, 5 Sep (ARMENPRES)—On 3 September PRAVDA reported that arms were allegedly being flown from Yerevan to Stepanakert and that was why the Azerbaijani government decided to reduce passanger flights to four starting 4 September.

That same day a telex was sent to Bakatin, USSR internal affairs minister, from Semyon Babayan, chairman of the executive committee of the oblast party committee; Zori Balayan and Vachakan Grigoryan, USSR people's deputies; Robert Kocharyan, people's deputy from Armenia; Valeriy Atadzhanyan, first secretary of Stepnakert City Party Committee; and Maksim Mirzoyan, chairman of the executive committee of Stepnanakert City Party Committee. They also appealed by telephone to the leadership of the Armenian parliament. They said that the PRAVDA report is openly provocative in nature and it is highly possible that because of that report, representatives of the Azerbaijani ministries and departments will descend upon the airport to engage in the usual anti-Armenian activities.

Late in the evening the aforesaid people met with V. Ovchinnikov, the interim acting commanadant of the state of emergency area. USSR People's Deputy Vachakan Grigoryan, in briefing the ARMENPRES correspondent about the meeting, said:

"During the meeting with V. Ovchinnikov we explained our position in detail, stressing that air transport is the only lifeline for Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], given the blockade and the two-year siege of the oblast. If Azerbaijan maintains that it is pursuing a peaceful policy in NKAO, basic logic would dictate that it should do everything not to sever that line. V. Ovchinnikov declared that the Internal Troops are not interfering with civil aviation and do not determine the number of flights. The commandant also said that not a single instance of arms transport on the flights has been observed. Yet it is incomprehensible who, besides the commandant's office, could have provided this information to the paper. In any case, Ovchinnikov added, he would not deploy armored vehicles on the flight area.

"Today, 4 September, we all went to the airport. Azerbaijani representatives from Baku, Agdam, and Yevlakh had already arrived. It was declared that no more helicopters will be allowed to land after the fourth flight, though at that very moment two more helicopters were hovering. After the sixth helicopter landed an armored vehicle with plate number 567 was brought into the flight area at around 1220 Moscow time. That action was considered insufficient. Troops carrying automatic weapons surrounded the two helicopters and virtually detained the crew and the passengers, which included elderly people, women, and children. We immediately telephoned Aleksey Goryashko, deputy minister of USSR Civil Aviation, who told us that no one has the right to interfere with civil aviation operations, in particular the number of flights. He requested that we tell the representatives of the Azerbaijan Civil Avaiation here that an agreement has been reached with the republican Civil Avaiation Administration to stop such illegalities.

"We also contacted Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian parliament, and told him about the presence of the armored car in the flight area. We asked him to inform V. Bakatin about that. After a few minutes the armored car left the flight area and the passengers were allowed to leave the helicopter.

"After this episode Zori Balayan, Valeriy Atadzhanyan, and Maksim Mirzoyan left for the city to brief the leadership of the country and of Armenia about the measures being taken; Semyon Babayan and I stayed at the airport. When the seventh helicopter landed, and the eighth was still in the air, a group of soldiers carrying automatic weapons and accompanied by the commandant of the airport rushed into the room and dragged us out, demanding that we leave the airport zone. I see nothing strange in this. We are used to all of this, to everything that happens in the country and here in Artsakh [NKAO]. Nevertheless, what still bothers me is that all of this is being done in accordance with the instructions given from 'above.' I am sure that neither the commandant, his subordinates, the soldiers with automatic weapons, the personnel of the armored car, nor he, V. Polyanichko, would have done all of this if they had not received directives from 'above.' This is the reason for the appearance of the armored car at the flight area of Stepanakert airport."

Six Planes Detained

LD0609201490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Six aircraft of the Armenian Civil Aviation Directorate which took off for Stepanakert from Yerevan yesterday have been detained.

[Unidentified correspondent] Today, there is only one link between Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia: By air. There are no trains at all, and road services are closed, so a plane is the only possibility of seeing one's family, visiting a sick person, or traveling on official business. As has already happened in the neighboring republic, the intention now is to block air travel as well. Because there simply is no other route, the demand for transportation between Yerevan and Stepanakert is for 10 or 12 flights daily by Yak-40 aircraft. The timetable approved by the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, which does not take account of these factors, provides for only seven flights. And the Civil Aviation Directorate of Azerbaijan, in agreement with the commandant's office of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast emergency zone, suddenly decided on 4 August that there should not be more than four. Yet, as Ilchuk, head of the Main Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, reports, it is the Armenian Civil Aviation Directorate that determines the number of flights. By the time we finished filming today, the first of six planes detained yesterday had returned to Erebuni airport. In Stepanakert the crew and the airliner were under arrest for more than 24 hours. [video shows planes and stranded passengers]

Gas Supply to Armenia Cut; Plants Close

PM0509150190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by S. Bablumyan under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Armenia: Fuel Running Out"]

[Text] Yerevan—Condemning the conflict launched by illegal armed formations on the Armenia-Azerbaijan border in the vicinity of Noyemberyan, Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan classed it as impermissible adventurism.

As is well known, measures to disarm these groups are continuing. Many of them are disbanding of their own accord or declaring their submission to the lawful authorities. Work to stop future extremism of this kind is continuing along the length of the border between neighboring rayons of the two republics.

The consequences of the events in the region are apparent not only in the fact that a state of emergency has had to be introduced in Armenia: The republic's population and industry have been left without gas. The valves of the main gas pipeline running through Azerbaijan territory have been closed tight. In order to somehow ensure the vital activity of Yerevan, the republic's government has been forced to use up the limited storage reserves, leaving other cities and rural rayons with nothing. In addition, even in Yerevan itself gas is being supplied exclusively for domestic needs, and also for health service facilities. But even so the republic is today receiving only 52 percent of fuel consumption norms that had already been reduced to 75 percent.

Let us return, however, to gas. Owing to the halt in its supply in the republic, more than 80 enterprises using this form of energy for manufacturing needs have been shut down. Among them are the "Armelektromash," "Armelektrosvet," and "Zakavkazkabel" Production Associations and many others that supply tens of thousands of the country's consumers with their output. Many tens of thousands of workers and employers of the idle enterprises have been left without wages.

Beniamin Tumasyan, general director of the "Armelektrosvet" Association, reports that the loss to the state from the compulsory shutdown here alone is in excess of 15 million rubles.

New Armenian KGB Chief Profiled

NC0609163890 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 4 Sep 90

["Profile of Usik Surenovich Arutyunyan, Chairman of the Committee for State Security of Armenia"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Yerevan, 4 Sep (ARMENPRES)—Usik Surenovich Arutyunyan was born in 1945 in Oktemberyan City to parents working in the service sector. He graduated from Yerevan's Politechnic Institute and worked at Oktemberyan's lathe manufacturing factory between 1967-73. He started work as an engineer-technician and eventually attained the responsible post of chief engineer of the enterprise. He began Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] work in 1973 and was elected first secretary of Oktemberyanskiy Rayon Komsomol Committee. He was second secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee 1977-79. In 1979 he left for Moscow and studied at the advanced school of the Committee for State Security. After graduating he held responsible positions in the organs of the republic's Committee for State Security. At one time he occupied the post of deputy chairman of the Committee for State Security of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. In 1988 U.S. Arutyunyan was appointed interior minister of the Armenian SSR. He remained in that post until April 1990.

He is married and has three children.

Azerbaijan 'Army' Considered; Attacks Continue

PM0609150790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Report by M. Mamedov from the border between Azerbaijan and Armenia; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The border between Azerbaijan and Armenia is literally sealed. In all the 16 settlements of Tauzskiy Rayon, which is located along the border with the neighboring republic, there are military sub-units. They are equipped with everything necessary to rebuff bandit formations.

Nonetheless, every evening the women and children from these villages are taken down to the rayon center, where the bursts of automatic and machine gun fire cannot be heard.

[Colonel A.V. Kutikov, division deputy commander] Although the Armenian National Army has been disbanded, individual formations of extremists continue to terrorize the Azerbaijani civilian population.

[Major General V.A. Guseynov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic KGB] The population of our republic is particularly worried by the poor efforts to disarm the anticonstitutional formations and by the fact that the flame-throwers have not been retrieved.

[Mamedov] It is harvest time in Tauzskiy Rayon. Grapes are the main agricultural crop. Picking is under way under the watchful eye of the armed militia. After all, there have been several incidents where Armenian extremists have tried to take hostages or open fire.

And here is the main news of the day. In one house in Chaykend village, located in Azerbaijan's Khanlarskiy Rayon, where there is an Armenian population, a powerful clandestine radio station has been discovered. Its range was 1,500 km. According to MVD [Ministry of Interior] specialists who tracked it down the station was being used to transmit orders to Yerevan for the delivery of ammunition, weapons, and explosives and to coordinate the arrival times at the village of unmarked helicopters.

In this way another arms delivery channel has been blocked. We can only wait and see what the so-called Armenian fighters will do next.

This is why today, virtually everywhere in Azerbaijan, people are debating why they too should not set up their own national army.

Azerbaijan's KGB Chief Visits Border Rayons

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[Text] Vagif Guseynov, member of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Presidential Council and chief of the Azerbaijan SSR KGB, visited Kedabekskiy, Tauzskiy, and Kazakhskiy Rayons from 31 August to 2 September. He visited [name indistinct], Mormor, (?Mukhterem), [name indistinct], (?Isayli), Agdam, Alibeyli, and other towns and talked with the local people. Discussions there primarily concerned the disruption of stability as a result of the armed Armenians' raids and the measures put into effect by the republic's leaders to provide security for the people. Vagif Guseynov explained the work carried out by the republic's KGB and Ministry of Internal Affairs. These organs, along with the USSR Armed Forces and the units of the Internal Troops of the USSR Interior Ministry, will take additional measures to protect the rayons in Azerbaijan bordering Armenia. Meanwhile, meetings were also held with the international collectives of the military units in [words indistinct]. The local residents [words indistinct]. Although the winter is approaching, the problem of supplying fuel to the towns in the Kedabekskiy Rayon continues to be complicated. [passage indistinct]

Nevertheless, it was noted that in general, the Internal Troops of the USSR Interior Ministry and the units of the USSR Armed Forces continue to control the situation in the border region with the active participation of the republic's law enforcement organs and local residents. However, the tense state of affairs continues to prevail.